

ESSAYS IN POLITICS

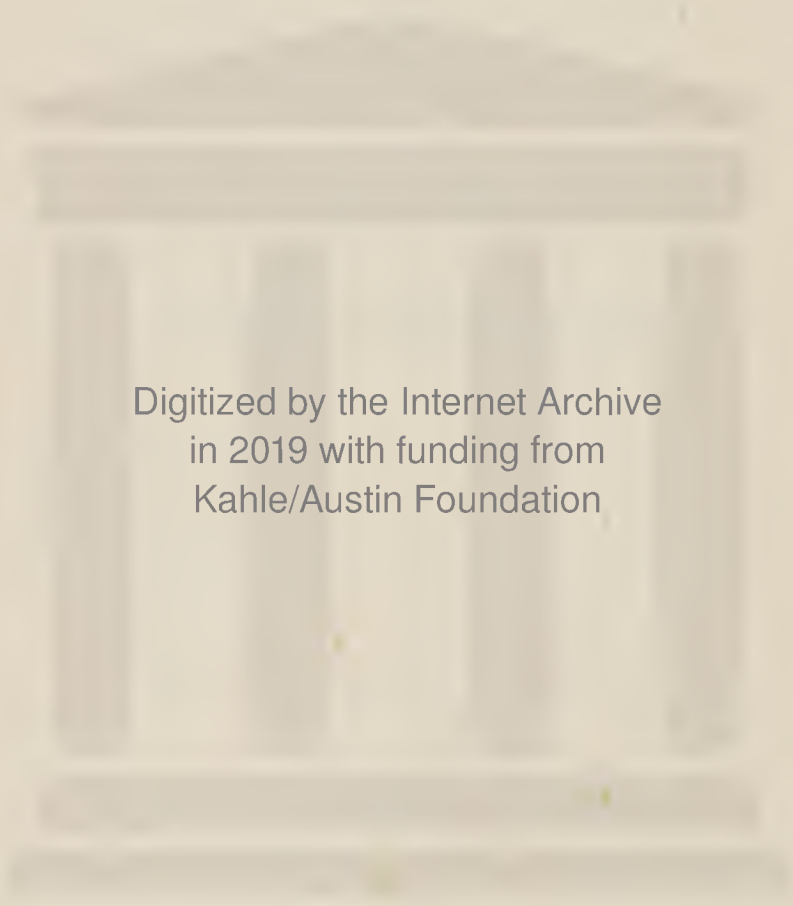
ANDREW MACPHAIL

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ESSAYS IN POLITICS



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BY

ANDREW MACPHAIL



LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA

1909

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F5081.M15

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ESSAYS IN POLITICS

I

THE PATIENCE OF ENGLAND

BRITISH diplomacy has two sides—the one which it presents to its enemies, and the other which it presents to its friends. That explains why the enemies of England think her diplomacy at one time astute unto perfidy and again complacent to the point of stupidity.

When Lord Salisbury declared with simple words and good-natured utterance that England had no intention of yielding up to a band of adventurers what she had sweat for in the Sudan, that was the infamy of Fashoda. When he warned Europe against the infection of a decaying nation, that was English brutality, keeping the peace whilst an upstart power severed a decaying limb from Spain. When he effected a working arrangement with Japan, England was guilty of the barbarity of pitting the black

race against the white. Yet these charges were not made with entire sincerity. There was that mental reservation which comes from perplexity.

England to foreign minds is a paradox. They are never done wondering at her stubborn determination not to be forced into action. But their wonder is increased to amazement, when the right moment has come, and they see the promptitude with which she is aroused and the resolution with which she proceeds, entirely oblivious of the scruples which restrained her and the hesitancy with which she began.

It would be of great advantage to foreigners if they could obtain a formula by which they might discover the flashing-point of English passion. They have seen it slumber during clamour, smoulder when it should have burst into flame; and again they have seen it flash as a reaction against some innocent and unpremeditated operation on the part of an irresponsible rival. With the utmost of placid amazement, England read Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message of 17th December 1895, and broke into a fury of flying squadrons because the Emperor of Germany had sent a simple, well-meaning telegram to a friend. The English

mind is not logical; it is sentimental, passionate, quixotic. No one can tell—least of all one of themselves—what kind of insult will arouse this strange race to action. If Palmerston, instead of Salisbury, had been at the head of affairs when Mr. Cleveland took that amazing hazard, there would surely have been trouble; whilst the earlier premier would probably have put a straw in his mouth when he read the German Kaiser's telegram and wondered what it was all about.

More perplexing still to foreigners, the passion for blood dies down when its object is accomplished as quickly as it arose. Englishmen who have been accustomed ever since Majuba to refer to Gladstone only as "that bad old man," forgot in an instant Colenso, Spion Kop, and Magersfontein, and welcomed General Botha to their councils in the month of April 1907. Truly it is a strange paradox to foreigners—the whole race hurrying to South Africa over every sea for the head of Botha, and this same General Botha, three years later on March 23rd, declaring at the banquet given in Johannesburg to the New Transvaal Ministry of which he was the head: "We trust Britain, and we desire to deserve her trust in us."

The quality above all others which impresses the foreign mind when it reflects upon England, is her infinite patience with her own. This was never better stated than in the *London Standard* of 30th March 1907, in commenting upon an article in *The University Magazine*: "We of the Old Country, to put the matter quite plainly, have not the smallest desire to keep the distant shires of the Empire in leading strings; we do not wish to hinder—we would rather help—their advance to nationhood. But we will not attempt to force them to take their places as fully-grown members of the family until they demonstrate, of their own free will, their desire to do so. We wish to see an Imperial Witan created; we wish to see an Imperial Navy ride the seas; but, until the Five Nations offer willingly, we will bear cheerfully the burden of their defence and the exacting task of endeavouring to adjust foreign relations with regard at once to the interests of the Imperial whole and the susceptibilities of its component parts."

A child does not appreciate the graces of his parents until he himself becomes a father. Then he sees a fresh embodiment of his own early selfishness, his truculency and ingratitude. He

has a new perception of his parents' perplexities, of their tolerant forbearance, their indifferent fortitude, and unceasing self-control. Now that we in Canada have come to man's estate, it is proper that we should take an accounting for ourselves of what England has done for us; and, if the account be satisfactory, make open and grateful acknowledgment of it. England does not demand such a reckoning. We owe it to ourselves to present it.

We can form no estimate of the conduct of England in any particular situation or locality unless we take account of the events which were happening elsewhere at the same moment. History must be studied as a whole. A fisherman must not lay too much stress upon the complaint of the individual sprat, else his living would soon be at an end, and the larger fish be left to prey unchecked upon the whole sprat race. When we survey the field of England's dealing with Canada this century past, we must remember that she has had pre-occupations elsewhere. The Premier of Canada, speaking before the British Ambassador, complained that England had withdrawn her boundary line from the Ohio River in 1783. As well might he blame her for withdrawing her boundary from the New

England coasts ; as most persons, I imagine, are aware that her withdrawal from that part of the American continent was not quite voluntary. The Premier would also do well to remember that France was at England's throat, and that she had some considerable employment before she succeeded in rescuing Europe and chaining Napoleon to her African rock.

The Premier, in spite of his beneficent nature and political adroitness, has found his resources strained in keeping the peace between Colonel Hughes and Mr. Bourassa, between the Orangemen of Ontario and the Ultramontanes of Quebec. He had the Manitoba school question to settle and found it troublesome enough, whilst England was establishing and preserving correct relations between Mussulman, Hindoo, and Christian, to say nothing of Episcopalian and Nonconformist. Canada is a great country ; but the Premier must not blame England too severely because she did not abandon her dealings with the Turk, with the heathen gods of India, with the spirit of murder and pestilence which for centuries had stalked through the Upper Sudan, even though we admit that, whilst she was engaged in the dark places of the earth teaching the helpless to help themselves, the people of the

United States were stealing our fish from the waters of Prince Edward Island.

It is not the present intention to write the history of England—domestic and foreign—alluring as that enterprise appears. I am merely calling attention to the fact that all these years England has had a history elsewhere than in Canada. The Premier is aware—and, if he is not fully informed upon the subject, his friend Mr. Botha will furnish him with particulars—that England was fighting for her life in South Africa, whilst the vultures hovered in the European sky. During those years of warfare, gold was discovered in the Upper Yukon. Small wonder that England appeared abstracted when she was asked to define the true borders of Alaska.

The key to this paradox, an England passionate yet self-controlled, obstinate yet good-natured, implacable yet forgiving, illogical and sentimental, lies in this—that the English are not a nation but a mixed race, more mixed than the Iroquois Indians who, in proportion to their numbers, held wider dominion than England now controls.

A pure race has one tendency and its course may be determined. The English are a mixed

breed, and retain the confusing characteristics of the elements by which it has been enriched and refreshed. The enemy of to-day may be adopted into the family to-morrow, therefore an English campaign is a mixture of war and benevolence. That is why England did so badly in South Africa. That is also why, in the long run, she did so well, as the issue has proved.

Words do not forever retain their original meaning. The term "English" once described those peoples who dwelt between the two Channels. It was merely geographical, and inaccurate even at the time when it was seized upon, for those peoples were already intermingled. An Englishman is only occasionally and fortuitously English. To set forth this matter fully would require an expanse of writing and a display of learning which would be intolerable, but an observant person who moves about the English counties may ascertain for himself the truth of this remark in the varied stocks of the race. He will find yet persisting the thick-set Saxon, heavy, round-headed, with blue eyes and drooping moustaches, "a sort of terrestrial walrus who goes erect," a bull-dog amongst terriers. The type is reproduced again in the women, in their round faces, in the pure colour

and brightness of their eyes, mothers of many men, the indomitable Saxon peasants who in the last resort always saved England. Side by side with this stiff and stubborn breed, conscious still of its superiority, may yet be seen men of other types, small, narrow-headed, brown-skinned, black-haired and black-eyed, the true Iberian ; or the black Celt, small and swarthy, besides innumerable harkings back to Danes, Brythons, and Goidels. Lastly, there are Romans walking the streets of London, proud in face and gesture, as knowing that the legions had never wholly left Britain.

All these breeds and races are now English, though they are as dissimilar as are the French-Canadians of Quebec, the farmers of the western plains, the stockmen of Australia, or the burghers of the veldt amongst themselves. Within the narrow borders of England these peoples dwelt together fortuitously. Community of interest developed a patriotism ; community of sentiment developed affection ; community of language obliterated all remembrance of old strifes, in the glorifying in the common tongue of new victories.

We in Canada must take account of this brooding instinct if we would understand England's dealing with and on behalf of us.

One illustration will serve. In 1866 Canada was invaded by an armed force from the United States, with all the circumstance of war. Regular troops marched forth to meet it. The Militia assembled. Battles were fought. Men were killed. The country was ravaged. The invaders were driven out and took refuge under the guns of an American man-of-war. Here, if ever, was a case for satisfaction or reprisal. Yet England made no demand for indemnity nor even asked for apology. She herself paid for the damage done to her colony. In this her patience and passionless wisdom were abundantly justified. She knew that the United States was in a sore temper from the Civil War; that it had an army of one million veterans ready for fresh adventure, however mad; that a foreign war would once more unite North and South by the bond of a common danger; and that a war, whether successful or unsuccessful, would be a disaster to the race. This was the moment for reticence, for patience.

It would be the business of a great writer to set forth the course of British diplomacy in so far as it has affected Canada, and the product would be a valuable book. In the main, these measures were far-reaching, just, and wise, and

were inspired only by the desire to do what was best not only for the interests of Canada but for the English race as a whole.

The most important of these diplomatic arrangements were the Ashburton Treaty in 1842, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and its abrogation in 1866, the Oregon Treaty of 1846, and the Alaskan Award of 1901. A full examination of these measures has been made, and one may hazard the statement that in no single instance was injustice done, nor were the interests of Canada jeopardised.

All intelligent persons are now agreed that no different conclusion could have been arrived at by Lord Ashburton in regard to the boundaries between Canada and Maine. The facts are all set forth in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for 1903 by W. F. Ganong, and again in a series of articles in *The University Magazine* entitled "British Diplomacy and Canada." A mischievous legend has grown up around this treaty, and to this day it is propagated in school-books, histories, and other romances. The explanation which obtains most favour in the United States, and arouses most glee, is that Daniel Webster and his colleagues falsified the maps and imposed upon the simple-

mind Englishman. In view of all the facts, it would appear that this astute people must renounce the reputation for smartness which they have cherished for over half a century, and content themselves with the simple virtue of honesty.

In treaty making the stupidity has been on the side of the United States, even when their own peculiar province of trade was under discussion. "Canada is within our lines" was the declaration of that great strategist, General Sherman. In a military sense, that is a matter of surmise. In a commercial sense it was true at one time, but it is true no longer. The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, at the instance of the United States, marked off the dividing line between Canada as a commercial dependent upon the United States and Canada as a nation in the making. This treaty was negotiated, or rather "was floated through on champagne," as the saying was, between Mr. Marcy and the Earl of Elgin, at that time Governor-General of Canada, and was signed on 5th June 1854. The arrangement lasted for twelve years, and was of great advantage to both countries. The United States, from their own point of view, did exactly the wrong thing in

abrogating the treaty in 1866; they created a new nation on their northern border, which in time became closely knit with England; and they did no good to themselves, unless it be good for a country to exploit its own resources to the point of exhaustion. The port of Boston alone suffered to the extent of twenty-seven million dollars a year, whilst the foreign trade of Canada rose from \$139,409,455 in the year after the abrogation of the treaty to \$235,301,203 in the seventh year.

The repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 brought temporary hardship in Canada by the derangement of trade; and there was a clamour that England had forsaken us. Indeed, under the stress of those "bad times" there was a small, though bitter, cry for annexation to the United States. But to the credit of Canada, her people sought new paths, and in a few years they were competing with the United States in the foreign markets of the world. Goods which had previously been sold in New York and Boston were now sold in the Maritime Provinces, in Newfoundland, in the West Indies, in England. Canada learned the valuable lesson that she had lakes and seas and rivers of her own, whereon she might freight her goods in ships

built from her own forests. A new spirit, a new people, a new nation was born, independent of the United States, and free to develop affiliations according to natural affinity. "We shall have no more pilgrimages to Washington. We are turning our hopes to the old Motherland"; this was the Premier's declaration in the hearing of Mr. Bryce at Ottawa, a fair warning to all statesmen of pro-American proclivities.

Under the Treaty of Oregon, England yielded seven degrees of latitude and obtained six. It is impossible, for the present, to enter into a discussion of all the factors in so complicated a problem, but it is worth noting that all of Western Canada was saved at a time when its value was entirely unsuspected. The Oregon Treaty is also commonly believed to have favoured the United States unduly, and it has long been regarded as testimony to the ineptitude of British diplomacy. The western boundary between Canada and the United States, which is now accepted under this treaty as the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, was long in dispute. England laid claim to all territory lying to the north of forty-two degrees. The United States protested that the true boundary

was as high as $54^{\circ} 40'$: "fifty-four-forty or fight" was their cry. The territory in dispute extended north and south 1200 miles, and included all which lies between the latitude of Salt Lake and Edmonton, namely, the present States of Washington, Montana, the two Dakotas, Wyoming, Idaho, and Oregon, besides the greater part of British Columbia.

Nor should the alien breeds who now form a part of the race fail to remind themselves occasionally of what England did for them in the hour of their defeat. The French-Canadian, whilst he glories in his language, his religion, and his laws, might with propriety abandon himself to an emotion of gratitude for those privileges. Again in 1837, when he might have been called upon to endure the just penalty for unsuccessful rebellion, it was far-away England which saved him from the vengeance of his neighbours.

On one occasion at least England saved us in Canada from ourselves. We plotted for "Responsible Government," and broke out into armed revolt in 1837. At length we got what we wanted, and real self-government was inaugurated under Lord Elgin upon the plan laid

down by Lord Durham. In the first Parliament a Bill was introduced by the "great ministry" of LaFontaine-Baldwin to "provide for the indemnification of parties in Lower Canada whose property was destroyed during the rebellion in the years 1837 and 1838." In face of an outburst of passion this Rebellion Losses Bill was passed by a large majority. The "Tories" urged Lord Elgin to withhold his sanction; but he insisted upon maintaining a strictly constitutional attitude, and his assent to the Bill in 1849 was a signal for these "patriots" to break out in wild revolt. A meeting called on the Champ de Mars ended in riot. An armed mob invaded the Parliament buildings and gave them over to the flames. The Governor-General was mobbed in the streets, and only military intervention saved the day. A deputation was sent to England from the Tory party to urge the disallowance of the Bill by the interposition of the Royal prerogative. Lord Grey defended colonial autonomy in the House of Peers against Lords Stanley, Brougham, and Lyndhurst, and against Mr. Gladstone in the Commons. The Imperial Government refused to interfere. The rebellion predicted by the "Tories" did not occur, and the right of the

Canadian Parliament to legislate upon Canadian affairs was admitted for all time as the cardinal principle of colonial policy.

In this summary fashion our rights were thrust upon us. Lord Elgin wrote to his Home Government: "I considered that, by reserving the Bill, I should only have cast on Her Majesty and Her Majesty's advisers a responsibility which ought, in the first instance at least, to rest upon my own shoulders, and that I should awaken in the minds of the people doubts as to the sincerity with which it was intended that constitutional government should be carried on in Canada; doubts which, in my firm conviction, if they were to obtain generally, would be fatal to the connection." Three years afterwards, when all agitation had subsided, Lord Elgin wrote to a friend: "I have been possessed with the idea that it is possible to maintain on this soil of North America, and in the face of republican America, British connection and British institutions, if you give the latter freely and unsparingly." That is a discovery which we did not make for ourselves, and we would do well to recall this incident with shame as well as gratitude.

The hegemony of the race has always lain in

London, and England has never rid herself of the old instinct that she is yet responsible for the people of the United States. The disagreement of 1776 was an affair on the surface. She still regards them as Englishmen occupying a congeries of states beyond the sea, just as Canadians occupy a federation of colonies. Protest as they like, the people of the United States possess the same instinct. They cannot convince themselves that the break in the continuity of the racial life was anything more than imaginary. When they have daughters ready to propagate the type, it is at the Court of St. James's they aspire to present them. There is no national life for Canada or for the United States apart or together. They and we and England can only attain fulfilment as three persons in one "New England."

When we in the outlying parts of the Empire arrive at a full apprehension of what England has done for the world, for the race, and for us, then will come back the greatness of those Elizabethan days in which there was an unbounded passion for the Motherland, when her children venerated and glorified her, and all which was hers. And if we say that England did all this—nourished and protected us as

children, endowed us with freedom and a kingdom when we were competent for the charge—for her own pleasure and safety, then are we, in the portentous words of St. Paul, “bastards and not sons.”

II

LOYALTY—TO WHAT

THERE are certain matters which are not proper subject for discussion—the honour of a patriot, the virtue of a prude, the learning of a professor, the uprightness of a judge, the fidelity of a friend, the loyalty of a subject. These would better be taken for granted. Yet the theme of every public address to resident and visiting nobility, and the burden of the reply, is the loyalty of Canadians.

When the representative of the Sovereign attends a durbar at Delhi, he may quite properly remind the natives of their obligations and privileges, in view of the somewhat recent events which happened, when “John Nicholson by Jalandhar came on his way to Delhi fight.” Lord Milner, also, in a progress through the Transvaal, might pitch his tune to the note of loyalty, in view of the still more recent events which happened in those parts. The Egyptians, too, are quite properly praised for their loyalty ;

since Arabi Pacha is not dead these many years.

There is not the same necessity for dwelling upon the word in Toronto, for example, before an assemblage of persons whose presence in that city is established by the loyalty of their "loyalist" ancestors who suffered exile for their loyalty. There are men yet living in Toronto who were out in Sixty-six, to repel the most flagrant invasion of a friendly state which ever went unavenged; and they have heard their fathers tell of Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane. Nor have they forgotten that their city was burned to the ground within the last hundred years. Even in the province of Quebec the *habitants* have reason to know something of the meaning of loyalty. Their fathers had to resist the blandishments of Franklin and his fellow-emissaries. They saw Montreal in the hands of the enemy, and their country ravaged up to the walls of Quebec.

When the Sovereign goes down to Devonshire to open a cattle-show, he does not think it necessary to remind the Devonian descendants of those stout seamen, who on many occasions saved England, of their loyalty by praising them for it. Even in Wales and Scotland he assumes

that it is so. The thing may be taken for granted in Canada also, even by Englishmen who cannot fail to remember the divided allegiance of their own country so recently as the time of the accession of the House of Hanover, and by Scotsmen who were loyal at the same moment to Charles Edward and George the Second.

Having in mind, it may be, these aberrations of political feeling in their own land, the more ignorant amongst the writers for the British press pretend to believe that we are ready to fly into the arms of the United States upon the slightest pretext; or, failing in this treachery, that by some secret *coup d'état* we shall set up an independent Government of our own. These persons would please us more if they would refrain from imputing to us such evil intentions; and they would serve better by not instilling into the minds of foreigners these unfounded suspicions.

So long as Britain was far away, we were under the enchantment which distance lends. In the long perspective she was the Britain which always stood against the world for right; and our fathers had shared in her making. They had fought against each other—Highlander and Lowlander at Culloden, Cavalier and Puritan at

Naseby, Orange and Green at the Boyne. In Canada for generations we lived side by side more closely than our cousins in Britain, and we gloried in our old victories and in our defeats. But England to us was the merrie England of Chaucer and Shakespeare, the austere England of Milton and Cromwell, the spacious England of Elizabeth and her Plymouth men. Scotland was glorified until her very stones were dear to us, and the wrongs of Ireland were forgotten. It was not hard to be loyal to that.

“Keep your dead, inviolate past,
Hold your pale ideal fast,
Well I know, who crave the whole,
Only dreams and memories last.”

But now England is very near to us. A cable-service is paid to supply us every morning with the meanest trivialities of English life, to record the intrigues of politicians, to proclaim the squalor of the poor and the inanity of the rich. The newspapers follow—and they come in increasing volume since the rate of postage has been lowered—giving in all their hideous details the filthiest reports of the proceedings of any divorce court in the world, telling us of the wickedness of the idle rich and the brutality of the idle poor.

We visit England in increasing numbers. We look upon the factory workers of Nottingham, and the dwellers in the Black Country, the impoverished farmers, the voters who live in Whitechapel, and the daughters of these voters, those peripatetics of the Circus. We see the riches and the vices of the world from Chile to Japan poured into London as into a sink, corrupting the national life at its very source. The obligation of sympathy and commiseration is engrafted upon the old loyalty.

Also, Englishmen come to us. Those in high official place have vision to follow their calling, interesting us in ourselves, and creating that sentiment of loyalty to the "person" which is inseparable from the "idea" of the British Constitution. Many of the wise men who come to write about us write what appears to us to be merely silly. If they have eyes, they do not see. Their ears are open to any jester who takes pleasure in sending them astray. English artisans come to Canada, and write letters to the newspapers that they cannot find employment, failing to see that an employer wants a thing done in his own way, and that may not be the way in which it is done in London, as the new arrival is so assiduous to explain. The English labourer

who comes amongst us is perpetually exercising his inalienable privilege of grumbling, in a language which appears to us like a foreign tongue; but in his grumbling he forgets to work, and we cannot forgive that. The fact of the matter is we look upon our fellow-Britons as fellow-men, not as trees walking.

To the present Sovereign and the present arrangement the people of Canada are as loyal as the Archbishop of Canterbury, and perhaps more so than is Mr. Timothy Healy or Mr. Lloyd-George. So long as the British Parliament contains only a due proportion of archbishops and Mr. Healys, there is nothing to be said. But we are well aware that the House of Commons which came into existence as the result of the last General Election, contained, out of 670 members, fifty representatives who avowed frankly their socialistic opinions, and ranged themselves behind Mr. Keir Hardie. There is no cause for alarm in the presence of members holding socialistic, or any other, opinions, so long as they are kept in due subordination to the whole. But in the session which followed, these Labour members were treated with more consideration than either the Liberal or Conservative parties received. They

had only to bring forward a measure to have it considered favourably. The Bill providing free meals for all children in the elementary schools was opposed at its second reading by only one member, and it was passed without division. A resolution approving of old age pensions was carried without a dissenting voice. The Bill by which the unemployed were subsidised was criticised by only two speakers, and there was no division upon it. At the same time, legislation which would benefit the whole nation was kept back, and private interests were neglected. One Bill, for example, was read a first time which had been under formal consideration for twenty-two years. We are also aware that the British House of Commons contains a certain number of members whose function is to obstruct legislation, a certain number who have spent a term in prison, and that at least one member was elected who was afterwards convicted of high treason. To ask Canadians to be unceasingly, and unreasoningly, and for ever loyal to that, is expecting too much.

We are intelligent enough to see that a united House of Commons is practically supreme ; that there is none to stay its hand, and none to question the validity of its decrees. In the

United States it is not so. Not the House of Representatives nor the Senate, nor the Executive, not all three together, can enforce legislation which is contrary to the principles of the Constitution. Any citizen who feels himself aggrieved has the right to demand that the Supreme Court shall pass upon the legality of any enactment, and declare whether the provisions contained in the Constitution have been infringed. The citizens know to what they are loyal—not to the vagaries of popular assemblies, but to principles with which they have been acquainted since 1787. In Canada also we have the comfort of knowing that our foolish legislation can be disallowed by some one. The people of England are without such safeguard against the wanton legislation of a House of Commons resolute to do evil—and we also, in so far as it concerns us. In that, it appears to us, the danger lies for us and them.

The weakness of the House of Lords does not reassure us. Unaltered in its constitution for six centuries, it is an anachronism, and proof against neither ridicule nor reason. Lord Salisbury affected to believe that its languor, its good-natured and easy-going tolerance, were the best assurance against conflict. That was only

his ironical way of saying things. No institution was ever reformed from within, and no Government will very soon reform the House of Lords from without. The Conservatives know that, as a rule, it will sanction their legislation ; for, as Lord Rosebery plaintively observed, the son of a Liberal peer is always a Conservative. The Liberals know that it will usually pass their legislation, because it dare not do otherwise. To us, however, it appears that the Lords will reject one measure, because nothing will happen to their House ; and pass another because something may happen to it. In one session they refused the Education Bill, and accepted the worst principles of trades-unionism. The House of Lords, feeble as it was, dealt effectively with the Franchise Bill in 1884, and with the Irish Bill in 1893, and nothing happened. Nothing would so make for the lasting loyalty of Canada as a House of Lords founded upon reason, and therefore strong enough to resist predatory legislation, or legislation inimical to the Empire as a whole.

We do not object to the Lords having convictions, even if they are based upon prejudice. Our objection is that they do not act upon the convictions which they have. No legislation is the worse for being obstructed. By obstructing

insane legislation they give the country a chance to return to its senses. We would wish to see the House of Lords either reformed enough to be completely intelligent, or made strong enough to be consistently stupid. A body which is only partially intelligent is apt to exercise at the wrong time the intelligence which it has. We would feel more secure if our interests were not entirely in the hands of Mr. Healy and of Mr. Keir Hardie. It would minister to our self-respect if the House of Lords were no longer a recruiting ground for theatrical managers and the wives of American millionaires. Our neighbours to the south are a witty people, and they say things which we cannot contradict.

It is worth remarking that loyalty is like any other virtue. If pushed beyond the bounds of reason a virtue becomes a vice. Love may pass into sentimentality; religion into theology; temperance into asceticism; zeal into bigotry; caution may degenerate into cowardice, and loyalty become a stupid adherence to nothing. There are persons in England to-day who pretend that they are still loyal to the House of Stuart, and once a year bedeck with flowers the statue of Charles the First. Loyalty is not, then, an abstract virtue like honesty, truth, and

charity. Its value depends upon the ideals to which one is loyal, and the motives by which one is actuated.

This utilitarian view of loyalty is the one which has always been adopted by the English people. Ever since the great events which happened at Runnymede, they have felt at liberty to choose whom they would serve. On Bosworth field, again, they had an open mind. They taught Charles the First the valuable lesson that a king has a bone in his neck. Eleven years later they demonstrated to the Puritans, in turn, that practical loyalty is an affair of common-sense. Again, after only twenty-eight years, they convinced James the Second that loyalty was no bar to the accession of William and Mary. When Queen Anne was dead the Stuarts required another lesson in the practical nature of loyalty ; and in 1745 a large proportion of the people of Scotland were convinced of the truthfulness of that view of the case. The Jacobites have left upon record their impression that loyalty is not a virtue of universal validity :

“ God bless the King—I mean the faith’s defender.
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender,
But who Pretender is, and who is King—
God bless us all—that’s quite another thing.”

Loyalty then, it would appear, has always been to the people of England a virtue or a vice, according to the circumstances of the case. To the people of the United States also, in 1776, loyalty was a crime, as we know to our cost, and disloyalty the supreme virtue. To us in these days it appears that the loyalty of the mass of Russians to their "Little Father" is the cause of the unsatisfactory conditions which prevail in their country. In short, the lesson of history is that the breaking with a tradition, if it become outworn, is the price of progress and the safeguard against decay.

But the glory of the English people is their loyalty to a principle at cost of disloyalty to their Government. The Government often became disloyal—the people never did. That is the privilege which Canadians are resolved to keep secure; to remain loyal to the ancient "truth, pity, freedom, and hardiness" of the race, wherever those qualities may be found. The English people never committed the unspeakable treachery of disloyalty for material gain. Neither shall we. Yet that is precisely the infamy which is alleged against us by British writers, who urge that we be given trade privileges, so that we may remain loyal, and by

Canadian writers who demand preferences upon the same ground. We all remember the melancholy case of that Mr. Smith who ended his life because he "laboured under the apprehension that he would come to poverty, and that his soul was eternally lost." We also remember that Matthew Arnold likened many of us to this unfortunate man, in our concern for making money and saving our souls. We are not now so much concerned about our souls. We have substituted for that solicitude the desire to "get into good society," but we are solicitous as ever about making money. To the socially ambitious "loyalty" has become like the burden of Jaques's song: "ducdame—an invocation to call fools into a circle." Within the last year a shipload of patriots journeyed to England, and stood before kings. They sat at banquets, and met upon equal terms eminent personages whose shoe-latchets they would not have been counted worthy to unloose, had they appeared in the quality of plain individual farmers, lumbermen, miners, merchants, and manufacturers, of whom there are several millions in Canada.

Loyalty in Canada has in some way become identified with that class which favours a monopoly of trade, it may be because they have the

facilities for making themselves heard. They have their associations, their paid secretaries, their publicity bureaus, their cable-service for disseminating their views. It is they who have propagated the theory that the loyalty of Canada depends upon the benefits which they receive. They have created a tariff as high as the country will stand. They have made it a little higher against all the world except England, and call that a preference, reserving to themselves the right to give an equal preference in any other quarter. Not content with free entry of their own goods into England, they demand that the entry of goods from other countries shall be put under an imposition. If, they say, this is not done, Canada will become disloyal, and either seek refuge with the United States, or set up in "business" on her own account. Canada will do nothing of the kind. If her loyalty depends upon commercial gain, the sooner England bids her go in peace the better. The spirit of Demetrius, the silversmith who saw his craft in danger, is not the spirit which actuates the mass of the people in Canada. The proof of the loyalty of the most and best Canadians is that they say nothing about it. A wholesome child does not think or speak of his affection for his

parents or cousins. Words are unnecessary ; if they are necessary, the sentiment is wanting. Loyalty, like affection, is a thing of the heart ; it is not of the mouth or the pocket. Those who proclaim that it is merit the stern Miltonic rebuke : " Blind mouths ; for their bellies' sake, they scramble at the feast." Canada's loyalty is her birthright. Small danger that she will barter it for a mess of money in which only these will share.

Nor is our loyalty a product of fear. If ever the time comes that Canada is in danger of invasion, it will be but part of world-wide complications in which England will have employment for her forces elsewhere. We shall try to shift for ourselves, and perhaps spare a hand for her besides. The thing has been tried three times already without an encouraging result to the invader. More ignoble still is the plea that we have paid down part of the price for commercial favours by our assistance in South Africa.

What now can Canada do ? We can attend to our own proper business. " They also serve who only stand and "—work. We can build our railways, enlarge our canals, and make safe our harbours. We can grow more wheat, breed better cattle, take more fish from the sea, mine

more metals from the earth, and pay the fine for buying our goods in England. In eight years we shall be exporting wheat for consumption in the United States. In the lifetime of some of the present generation we shall have a greater population than England now enjoys. We can take her surplus population, good and bad. Last year in London alone there were 123,000 legal poor. In twenty years there need be none. We can make men of them, or demonstrate that there is no stuff in them of which men can be made. A man who cannot make a living in Canada for himself and his family is not worth keeping alive.

A nation which is only a trading and manufacturing nation—and England is nearly that—does not survive for ever. Holland will serve as an example. The England which stood against the world was not a bargaining England, wrangling over tariffs and preferences. When she fought for her trade, she was fighting the larger battle of freedom. Traders do not fight, they compromise, as Holland compromised. They only fight well who fight for their homes. England has lost touch with the land, and can rejuvenate herself only by contact with the land again. It is not too absurd to say that the

future strength of England lies in the dominions beyond the sea, from which she will draw a new freshness.

What more can we Canadians do? We can be true to the ancient virtue of the race. We can by example urge England and the other portions of the Empire to be true to it also; and by being true to that we shall be true to one another. "This above all, to thine own self be true," is as applicable to a community as to a man. Canada will be loyal to England so long as England is loyal to herself.

III

THE DOMINION AND THE SPIRIT

LET us begin with the sufficiently general statement that we live in Canada—some of us since yesterday, some of us for six generations. To say that we are Canadians might involve us in controversy; and one would be simple-minded indeed, who should attempt to set forth within the compass of a small paper what the term Canadian does exactly signify.

Yet it is worth correcting the impression which was prevalent, at least up to a few years ago, that a Canadian is a kind of Yankee, or an Indian, or even necessarily a person living in America who speaks French. There is nothing very profound in this observation, but it is as well that the fact should be established.

The world has heard much, and is likely to hear more, of Canada and its affairs. These affairs are the growing of wheat, the catching of fish, the breeding of cattle, the mining of metals, the conversion of trees into timber, and

all the by-products which accompany or flow from these operations. I am not insensible to the splendour of these achievements, though it is not the present intention to write of them. That may well be done by persons who are fully informed and vitally concerned about these operations. The present proposal is to speak of something different and yet not quite different—namely, the spirit which should actuate us in the doing of these things.

It is of some importance that we should make wheat to grow. The thing which is of more importance is that we should have a right reason for undertaking that labour, and a right spirit in the doing of it. The man who makes two blades of wheat to grow where only one grew before, for the mere purpose of providing unnecessary food, is working with the spirit and motive of a servant—of a slave even. The slave works because he is compelled to; the artist because he loves to; the fool does unnecessary work because he is a fool. Each one of us is part slave, part artist, and part fool. The wise man is he who strives to be all three in due proportion, and succeeds in being not too much of any one. But the tragedy of our life lies in this: that the man who was designed for an artist is

by compulsion so often a slave. It is merely pathetic to see the fool engaged in his useless task, and comic to see a millionaire continuing to work at his queer trade.

Work, then, in itself is neither good nor bad. A man who works to keep himself out of mischief is only a little less vicious than the idler. This "work for work's sake" is entirely modern; and our present civilisation is the only one which has ever been established upon that principle. To the Greek mind it was incredible that a free man should labour, even for his own support. That was the business of the slave. The citizen had other occupation, in considering how he could make the best of his life. His business was to think how he should govern himself, how he might attain to a fulness of life.

It is not the modern view that a man should occupy himself with his life. With all our talk about freedom, we have only succeeded in enslaving ourselves. We have created for ourselves a huge treadmill; and, if we do not keep pace, we fall beneath its wheels. Our inventions have only added to the perplexities of life. We have created artificial necessities, and consume our lives in ministering to them.

We work only because we think we must.

We have all seen the clerk in the office dawdling over his balances and his bills, watching the clock until the hour strikes when he is free—to do what? To escape to his little workshop or garden. The thing which keeps us in heart at our tasks during the long winter—if one may be permitted to affirm that the Canadian winter is long—is the hope that we may at some time escape to our little farms, our woods, and streams, forgetful that it is within our reach to spend the whole year in doing the things which we love to do. There is but one free man in the world—he who creates out of the earth. If workers work for the love of the thing, then is constituted the class of artists—whether they work in the earth, in stone, in wood, with colours, with sounds, or with words.

There is yet another class; and of it I propose to speak at some length, because the voice of it is the dominant one in Canada and in all parts of the Empire to which we belong. This is the class which I call traders, in contradistinction to those who work for the love of creating, whether it be composed of tradesmen exchanging their time, merchants trading their wares, or professors trading their knowledge—for money.

What man engages in this commerce for love

of the thing itself? Who flies to it as to a refuge from his care or his sorrow? Of all human activities, which are not exactly criminal, this alone has for its ethic the love of money which is the root of all evil. Yet this is the ideal which is held up persistently before us, for our guidance in life and for the adjustment of our political relations.

If I were to demonstrate that following the guidance of this pernicious principle has led to the corruption of public life and to personal misery, to the political lobby and the social slum, that would be to relate the history of modern civilisation. I shall endeavour instead to indicate its effect when it is adopted as the guiding principle of statesmen.

If any man is qualified to express this modern view, I think that man is Mr. Chamberlain. In a speech which he delivered, 10th June 1896, he made the portentous statement, "Empire is Commerce." A reading of history does not convince one that this definition is correct, and numberless illustrations leap to the mind in refutation of such doctrine. The nations which have left their impress upon humanity had quite other views.

The Hebrews who inhabited the barren hill-

sides of Palestine proclaimed that Empire lay in righteousness; and her prophets were never done crying aloud their warnings against the fate which overtook the commercial cities of Nineveh and Tyre. The Greeks lived alone for beauty of conduct, for enrichment of character. The Romans upbuilted their empire for the sake of law and order. Holland attained to greatness through struggle against the invader; and England through her undying resolution that she would be free.

In refutation of this fallacy, that Commerce is Empire, we may cite the case of Holland. When William III., after incredible labour, accomplished the great Protestant Union against Louis XIV., and annexed the Royal Crown of England, her influence was at its height. Then began her commerce. Riches flowed in upon her from every sea. Her greatness lasted scarce twenty years.

But the history of our own country serves amply for illustration. Those are traducers of England who say that her Empire has covered the earth at the demands of commerce. Trade has not followed the flag, as the saying is. Between 1883 and 1897 the Empire increased in population 128 millions. The boundaries were

enlarged to the extent of four million square miles by the inclusion of Egypt, the coast and hinterland of Nigeria, Somaliland, East and Central Africa, and the Sudan. Yet during that period the exports fell from £6, 17s. per head of population to £5, 17s.; and the total exports fell from 305 millions to 294 million pounds. More recently, South Africa has been included; 500 million pounds would not pay the cost, and yet in all these regions the German bagman moves about as freely as if he had borne his share. That is sufficient refutation of the fallacy that Commerce and Empire are synonymous terms.

But we may find a better illustration of what commerce will do for a nation, because it is going on under our very eyes. Forty years ago it was to Germany we went in search of a love for the ideal, for a reverence of fact, for a high, and austere, and disinterested view of life. To inculcate the value of these things was Germany's work in the world, wrought out by her unworldly professors, her authors dazzling with the brilliancy of their ideas, her scientists consumed with the pure love of knowledge, and her philosophers whose thought ranged over the whole of human life and aspired upward towards a knowledge of

God. Shorn of her spiritual strength, Germany sits to-day a blind giant, toiling in the mill for the benefit of any Philistine who requires meanness and cheapness. Prosperity in trade has wrought this change in character, and it has all come about in one generation. Forty years of the commercial ideal has made of the Germans the tinkers of Europe, the bagmen of the world, the supple traders who do not disdain the language of the Hottentot, if only a bill of goods may be sold thereby. German science and learning have surrendered themselves to immediate necessity.

And this is the advice, the new remedy, which every quack has to offer to us and to England. The charge which they bring against us is that the education which we give to our children makes of them merely educated men, and not men of business. It is the "business man" who understands education. The boy must be illiterate, empirical, disdainful of all knowledge which is not the result of personal experience. The New Education is the thing, and Germany is the place where it is made.

We in Canada have the opportunity of making a new experiment. We have not entirely abandoned ourselves to the dominion of work and

the desire for money. There are those who tell us that this is our destiny—to work and grow rich. They are not disinterested. They desire, rather, that we should work that they may grow rich.

For thirty years we have resolutely turned away our faces from an agricultural and pastoral life, from the simple joys which go with these occupations. We have become infected with the desire to imitate peoples whose environment is different from ours. We have not been living our own life. “Crowding the cities in a blacker incessanter line,” we shall soon be asking with Matthew Arnold, “Who can see the green earth any more? When shall we drink of the feeling of quiet again.” The factory and the slum are twin sisters. If these continue to be our ideal of achievement, then, having achieved nothing but slum and factory, no one will ask who or what we have been—

“More than he asks what waves
Of the midmost ocean have swell’d,
Foam’d for a moment, and gone.”

We in Canada have now attained to that condition against which woe is proclaimed. “Woe unto you when all men speak well of you,” contains a penetrating truth. The vastness of our

country and the wealth of our resources is our song in a chorus of wonder. Yet we might well remember that the bulk of Asia was not proof against the spirit of Greece. There are things which we must do for the care of our soul; there are things which we must not do, if we would save our soul alive, if we are to have any meaning in history.

Here we are outstretched three thousand miles between two oceans, squeezed in between the frozen North and a nation from which we must differentiate ourselves, unless we are content merely to cast our lives into that welter of humanity. We are an aggregation of elements sufficiently diverse, separated from each other by mountains and wilderness, by language, and theological dogma. But the difficulties are not insurmountable if we address ourselves to them with honesty and sweetness of temper. It will take a long time—if we measure time by the life of a man—to compose our differences and grow together; a short time if we measure time by the life of a nation.

England has been at the task a thousand years, and we have heard that Ireland is not yet entirely satisfied. Therefore we need not be discouraged by what we have accomplished in

thirty years. England is so far away and—one may add—so small, that we are disposed to think that her political action arises out of a unanimity of opinion. Looked at more nearly, controversy and dissension are as obvious as amongst ourselves. Struggle and compromise has always been her portion. By this method she has attained to political wisdom. Holding a middle course between extremes, she has gone safely. That has been the history of England in her internal affairs, and it must be ours too.

There have always been two Englands, an East and a West, or rather a South-East and a North-West. The rivalry between them was at first military, then political, now commercial. For a thousand years the rich eastern meadows of the Thames and Trent attracted invaders—Romans, Danes, Saxons, Normans. For a like period the West, with its mountains, bogs, marshes, forests, and sands, was a refuge for outlaws and for the conquered Gaels, Picts, and Welsh. Political power lay in the East, defended by royalty, lords, commons, church, court, industry, and wealth. This was “Merrie England,” green England, with its grassy plains, ancestral homes, cities, villages and farms, cathedrals, churches, and universities. Between

the two lay a frontier fortified since the time of the Romans. It is yet marked with the names of their camps and with the Norman castles of Warwick, Kenilworth, and Dudley. This black England gave birth to the Puritan spirit, to a reflecting, calculating mind, from which modern business England has grown.

In the West there has always been a chaos of revolutionary tendencies. Out of it arose the demand for reform of the House of Commons, to ensure adequate representation of all classes, to exercise due influence over parliamentary elections, and to alleviate national distress. The West imposed upon the East the Reform Bill of 1832, and it was only at that recent date that a considerable portion of England was freed from an oppression much worse than anything which we in Quebec have had to endure at the hands of Ontario.

There is much evidence that the process of organisation will not be so slow in Canada as it was in England. The gulf between the rich and the poor is not impassable. To us birth is not a warrant entitling to position, nor is it a bar to a career. There is an absence of that sense of traditional wrong which various sections of older communities have inherited. We have

no political grievances. Our public life is simple, and it is automatically purifying itself. Our newspapers are not entirely conscienceless. There are many influences making for organic unity. Distance is losing its repelling force. We see more of each other. We meet together in the universities. Education is becoming organised. Even our school-books are beginning to be written from a Canadian instead of from a narrow, provincial, or seditious standpoint. Except in the province of Quebec, our schools are free from the taint of sectarianism, either Catholic or Protestant. Theological dogmas are freeing themselves from the spirit of hatred, and the churches are learning that religion is peace—peace within the soul, peace and goodwill to all men.

No longer do we live in isolated communities. With larger opportunity, our young men are not forsaking their own country to lose their identity amongst people with other aims. Rather, they are coming back and bringing men of our own breed with them. These newcomers find our institutions more comfortable than their own, because our political system has been created out of our life, not imported and imposed upon us from without. That is why

the West will be saved to Canada, why Canada will always be saved to the Empire, and the Empire to us.

It is only when a nation is dead that discussion ends. They are yet discussing things in England, and in pretty plain terms too. After a thousand years of controversy they have evils which are yet unremedied. In this country, too, there is discussion, and there are persons who profess to be dissatisfied about the relations which exist between this country and the other parts of the Empire.

In so far as I have been able to inform myself, their grievances are that a man in Canada, who loses a lawsuit, has the right of appeal to a body of the most eminent jurists in the world ; that a treaty may be made settling the frontiers of India for example, without seeking our advice ; that England may engage in a war of which she is ready to bear the cost on her own initiative.

I am not sure that any advice which we might offer would be very useful, yet I suspect that there are persons in Canada who could tell us, if they were free to speak, that such advice is sought habitually. True, we writers and talkers may not be consulted, but let us

remember that our premiers, and our cabinets, and the representatives of our King, may have better information than we possess. We are comparatively new to this business of Empire-management. It is a little different from farming, or trading, or sawing timber; and these are the occupations with which we are more familiar, in which we excel. I can quite readily surmise that in the making of a treaty with Russia, or an alliance with Japan, or an *entente* with France, problems might arise which would be new to us. I question if even Mr. Lemieux has more definite information upon the boundaries of Thibet than Mr. Oswald had upon the bearing of a line "due west from the Lake of the Woods," or more specific knowledge of the hinterland of Nigeria than Lord Ashburton possessed about the watershed between the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy. Treaties are made, alliances are negotiated, and war is declared without the knowledge of the British House of Commons. We are so accustomed to conducting our public business from the house-tops, and so little comes of our business, that we have not learned the necessity of caution, reticence, delicacy.

There are also persons in Canada who, under

the guise of historical research, are resolute to put England in the wrong. They pitch upon isolated incidents and assemble them to produce an effect. Because England made a certain peace with thirteen revolted colonies, they cry out that Canada was betrayed, forgetting that Canada at the time had no existence. As well might they blame England for losing the battle of Hastings, a thousand years ago. It was our fathers who did it, and we all—we in Canada and we in England—are equally sharers in the results. It ill becomes any one in Canada to complain, whose family lived in England when these things were done. All, save the French-Canadians and those who are called Loyalists, are debarred from entering a protest, and it is not from them the complaint comes.

Nor should we allow seditious demagogues to import into this country their traditional wrongs. We in Scotland suffered the last things at the hand of England in 1745. The heads of our houses were slain. Our chosen King was hunted into exile. Our national life was broken up, and many of our bravest were transported into virtual slavery. We have forgotten all these incidents of the national growth, just as England has forgotten the event

at Bannockburn; or, if we remember them, it is but to yield to each other an increased respect. We know that a majority of the people in Ireland are not entirely satisfied with the relation which exists between them and England. We have imported that grievance into Canada. It is a local affair. Let it be settled upon the other side of the Atlantic. We have heard that the people of British Columbia, on the one hand, and the people of Prince Edward Island, on the other, have some grievance against the Dominion as a whole. We shall adjust the matter between ourselves. We shall not trouble the people of England to take upon themselves the burden of this difficulty. In justice to Canada and in decency to England, let us allow to Ireland and her neighbours the same privilege. Any person who lands upon these shores with the avowed purpose of asking us to interfere as between New Zealand and Australia, as between the Transvaal and Cape Colony, as between Ireland and England, should be treated as one who stirs up strife.

But the man to be most suspicious of is he who has a political formula, a doctrine, a device. There are plenty of these persons in Canada. They tell us, with all the assurance of

a soothsayer, what the destiny of this country is to be. For forty years they deafened us with their cry of annexation. But happily our ears were deaf and their crying has ceased. Now they are upon a new scent, but I do not think that many are following them or much concerned about where it leads.

The life of a nation is too vast, too complex, too much a thing of the future to be governed by a document drawn up in advance of events. We all know what happened to the Constitution of the United States, or even to the terms which were drawn up by the Fathers of our own Confederation. It was far from the mind of Alexander Hamilton that the United States should, within a century and a half, be ruled by an elected king, who has more power for good, and also for evil, than any sovereign of Europe. It was far from the mind of the Fathers of Confederation that the Dominion which they created should so entirely dominate the Provinces of which it was composed.

The true principle of governing is to govern according to the genius of the race. Even if we in Canada would, we cannot depart from that principle. We can do no otherwise than as we are doing. The genius of the race to

which we belong is to do nothing in advance of necessity. The people of the United States adopted a different principle. They imposed upon themselves a set of doctrines from which they have been striving ever since to free themselves. For good or bad, the British Empire exists because it has been established day by day upon the experience of uncounted yesterdays; and so has been created a Constitution not on paper but sacrosanct in our hearts.

Even before the English landed in England that was their practice, to deal with events as they arose. They never strove for a theory of government, they were content if they governed well. Their philosophers might discuss the basis of kingship for the enlightenment of other peoples. They were content if their king governed well. If he did not govern well they cut off his head, or sent to Holland or Hanover for another. "Who ha'e ye got for king now?"—in that inquiry lies the whole practice of English government.

From time to time portions of the race migrated out of the island. They proceeded at once to do what they did at home—to govern themselves. That is what they did in the United States. The rebellion of the thirteen

colonies was the most natural thing in the world. It came about because Lord North was wrong. It was entirely in the spirit of Englishmen ; for Englishmen always rebel against injustice, and they decide for themselves when they have endured enough, when the moment has come, as John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, said when he and his fellow-Puritans chose to go out into the wilderness in search of the privilege of governing themselves as seemed best to them.

It is fixed in the English mind that any given community has a natural right to govern itself as it sees fit ; that no community of white men can long be governed by any other, that self-government is best. That is why Canada has been handed over to the Canadians, Australia to the Australians, South Africa to the South Africans. That has been the principle which has always guided England in her relations with her offspring, not to interfere in the internal affairs of another community, and Lord Salisbury was the greatest exponent of this principle.

But there has always been this reservation. A community, native or foreign, must not deny to an Englishman the fundamental rights which he enjoys at home. The Turks may murder

their Bulgarian fellow-subjects ; the Abyssinians may harry their hinterland ; the Egyptians may wallow in corruption ; the Boers may purchase armaments ; but they must not destroy an Englishman without due process of law. The Magna Charta is the charter of an Englishman's liberties, and it runs wherever an Englishman may be found.

This conduct on the part of England involves the assumption, an entirely justifiable one as I think, that her children are sons and not prodigals ; that they will not be eager to spend their substance living riotously in a far country, or content to fatten swine in their fields. When our fathers went out into the wilderness they made a covenant for themselves and their posterity. Under this covenant they relieved themselves from one set of obligations and incurred another. They were released from the burden of Empire as a whole. They assumed the burden of a part, and at times the part is greater than the whole. We in Canada have "made good," as the saying is. We have proved ourselves worthy to be called sons. We think that the time has come for a "show-down," as they used to say in the West, for the making a new covenant in which we shall be enabled to renew our

vows, by which we shall again be adopted into the number, privileged again to share and bear the burden of Empire as a whole, and be made partakers in the heritage, and of all the responsibilities and benefits, spiritual as much as material, which accompany or flow from such adoption.

If we in Canada were to become afflicted with a madness, and take it into our heads to establish an anarchy or other outland form of government, I do not think that England would do anything more than recall to our minds the fable of the silly beasts who would have a log or a stork for king; or that other, of the frog who would be an ox.

We are governed in our conduct by conventions. There is a convention of the home, of the club, of the dinner, of the church. These conventions are based upon "the law of kindness," as the Proverbialist defines it, upon affection. They make for good manners and amenity of life. There should also be a convention of kindness in our larger relations, under which we would refrain from irritating one another. Under the influence of this spirit of kindness we shall abstain from giving offence to Catholic or Protestant, to English or French, to rich or to poor.

The leader of those who call themselves Liberals, and the leader of those who call themselves Conservatives, possess this spirit; and when they succeed in instilling it into their followers, it will pervade public life to the ends of the Dominion. Then we shall see the finish of that hateful spirit, under the influence of which a minister of the Crown permits himself to bring a railing accusation against his opponents, and a member of Parliament to liken a minister to a "whipped spaniel." These things are hateful and do not occur in private life. They are hateful in public life as well. Actuated by the spirit of this law of kindness, we should make of Canada a refuge for all within the Empire who are in distress, for the unemployed, for the discouraged. England has done much for us, nourished us, defended us, and defends us yet. Let us do this in return, not in a spirit of bargaining, but with the desire to bear more than our part of the burden of Empire. With an organisation easily contrived, we could, to our mutual benefit, relieve that part of England which lies beyond the sea of one in ten of its surplus people. We could give to the willing ones a little farm, a little house, instruction in self-support. To those who will not

work we could teach the lesson, that they shall not eat, and that would be the greatest kindness of all. So shall we purify and enrich the race. There is a regulation that a man shall be kept out of Canada if he has not a certain amount of money. Let us, on the contrary, make his poverty a reason for taking him in.

We have wrought hard these two centuries past. Now we have some leisure for enjoyment. Rural life is a cheerless thing so long as it is lived in the shadow of poverty. But, happily, that shadow has passed away; and, lest it may be thought that I have entirely forgotten my subject, I shall say that this additional grain of wheat of which I was speaking is only of value if we get enjoyment out of it. Our life in Canada will always be rural. Wherefore let us aspire after rural joys. Let those who have the love of money engage in commerce if they choose, and create an Empire out of it if they can. Let the millionaire continue to work at his queer trade. They cannot hurt us if we keep our spirit right. Their glamour will not allure us. They will lose interest in it themselves, when they see that we are disinterested.

Chief amongst these rural joys to which we should aspire is the visitation of our friends, as

they do in the country. "I was born back East in Brandon," said a homely farmer on the western plains ; for Brandon is no longer West. We have cleared our farms. We have lifted the mortgage from them. We have built schools and churches, and made good roads. This is mere machinery. It is not life. National life is merely the sum of family life. Wherefore, it is important to cherish our family life, to preserve intact, to strengthen those ties of affection which bind us together.

Canada is the elder brother of all who have emerged from the loins of England. Too long we have been indifferent to the welfare of each other. We have allowed our hearts to be hardened, and that is the worst evil which can fall upon a man or a nation. Therefore, we should go amongst our people and inquire if it be well with them.

We can tell them much from our experience, and we can learn of them. Especially should we be solicitous for South Africa, the youngest born, and even for those alien breeds which we have incorporated into the family. For the enrichment of our own spirit we should go occasionally to our old homes, wherever they may be, and also for the comfort of those of the family

who yet inhabit them. The gain will be more to us by the visitation of our friends; for we in America are living in the eighteenth century, an anachronism in the civilised world, in so far as ideas are concerned.

The development of this family affection is, I venture to think, the true solution of the many problems which face the Empire. This tie will bind us for ever: "for many waters"—the waters of the Seven Seas—"cannot quench love; neither can the floods drown it." So shall we hand down to our children, not impaired but enriched, this heritage which has been entrusted unto us; and so shall we fulfil our duty to ourselves and to our posterity.

IV

WHAT CAN CANADA DO

THOSE of us who are in the habit of writing have come to the conclusion that, if we do not write, something will happen. The same remark is applicable to talkers also. We have all seen a beaver in a zoological garden sedulously collecting such material as he may command for the building of a dam. The assiduous beast is firmly convinced that, if he does not build, the Ottawa river will overflow its banks or some other dreadful calamity happen. That is our predicament. By writing and talking we keep the Empire together. We prevent an outburst of the national stream into unaccustomed channels. The beaver, who in reality is effective, spends his time erecting for himself and his family a comfortable home, protecting them from danger, and providing them with suitable food. He is the one who best serves the cause of beaverdom. This thing is a parable.

We Canadians who are not writers and

talkers did not think that we were doing anything unusual, these two centuries past, making a living as best we might, defending our little clearings against wild beasts, our homes against savages, and our little towns against marauders from the United States. Our forefathers did as much against Spaniard, French, or Dane; indeed, against English, Scotch, or Irish. We did all that lay at our hands in the most innocent way in the world. We dug harbours, built lighthouses, laid down railways, excavated canals. We have policed our waters and prevented strangers from stealing our fish. We have kept good order over a territory as large as the half of Europe, and made life and property fourteen hundred miles from Edmonton as safe as it is in Trafalgar Square, and much safer than in County Roscommon.

Canada is no new thing, although it has been discovered anew. Before the battle of the Plains of Abraham, and ever since, we in Quebec have been diligently cultivating our "few acres of snow and ice," living a useful, happy life, increasing our population of sixty thousand alien peasants to three millions of citizens, and never dreaming that we were doing anything of especial interest. There is nearly a century and a half

since a body of Englishmen came streaming across the border, choosing to dwell in the wilderness rather than be sharers in the rebellion of their fellow Englishmen who occupied the thirteen colonies. Ever since Culloden, Scotland has been sending out her hardiest sons, men who found the conditions at home hopeless and intolerable; and Ireland also has given of her best. We have done here precisely what we used to do in our old homes.

When we reflected upon the matter at all, we thought we were doing pretty well for a part of the Empire at least, and it was with pained surprise we learned that we were doing nothing for the Empire. We were told that we were pensioners upon the bounty of the English shires and towns, that the taxpayers of Midlothian were overburdened with our defence, and that we were like members of a club who did not pay their dues. We in Canada are honest people. We like to pay our way, as the saying is, especially as we have the money in our pockets to pay it with. We are not conscious that we require charity. We are much more disposed to give than to receive. We have no desire to meddle with other people's internal affairs. We are satisfied that no one

desires to interfere in ours. That leaves us free to speak with our friends in the house and with our enemies in the gate.

Out of this laudable sentiment has arisen the desire to set ourselves right, not exactly right, but more than right; because one who does only what is exactly right is essentially a mean man. We are asking of ourselves, and in every quarter from which we might get a sensible reply: What should Canada do? It is quite true that we have ready at hand a considerable bulk of advice, at least it has the appearance of being considerable, as Carlyle said about his morning porridge. Some say that our obligations will be discharged if we give yearly a battleship to the British navy: others, that the debt will be paid if England gives to our goods a preference in the English markets. The one implies that we owe England: the other, that England is our debtor. Both statements cannot be true. Both may be false. To ascertain the fact, we must first inquire what Canada has done, before we can find an answer to the question: What should Canada do?

Whatever we have has not come easily. Our mothers have told us of these things. To-day they are passing the evening of their life in

comfortable farm-houses, whose little rooms are embellished with scriptural texts, enlarged photographs of departed faces, and other pictures of sentiment. We may also hear the story, though more secretly, in town house, where portraits replace the earlier adornments. It has taken five generations to raise the mortgage from the place, and it is only now that we can send our sons to the university without sacrificing the lives of those who remain at home. We have had our own bitterness and sorrow. It is in these that values are reckoned, in broken hearts, in bowed backs, and knotted hands.

In those days England was far away and we were alone. Twenty weeks it took to make a journey there and back. News was scanty. Yet, in some way, we heard of Trafalgar, of Waterloo, of the Crimea, and of the Indian Mutiny. We had pictures on our walls of "The Death of Nelson"; of "Napoleon on board the *Bellerophon*"; of "The Roll Call" after the battle; of the fierce vengeance which was taken upon Nana Sahib's fellow-murderers. As works of art these pictures were not very good, but they had a meaning. They conveyed the impression that England ruled, instead of going about the world asking how she should rule.

What perplexes us most is the saying in everybody's mouth, that, unless we do something—give a battleship or a preference, or send Sir Wilfrid Laurier to a conference in London—the Empire will go to pieces. The Empire has always been going to pieces, even from a time which is far beyond the memory of any man now living. The Venetian ambassador in 1557 heard the same complaint in London, at a time when, as he notes, “hammers were beating in one place, tubs hooping in another, and pots clinking in a third”; when the artisans were so rich that “they made good cheer in a tavern oftener than every day with rabbits, hares, and all sorts of viands.”

When one Englishman meets another, his first comment is upon the beastliness of the weather, even if the place be Surrey and the day the rarest in June; his second is upon the doom which is impending over their country. This is merely a form of humour, that of overstatement. There is another form of humour, that of understatement, which is as freely employed. An Englishman whose ancestors have served the nation for twenty generations in her councils and her wars, whose grandfathers were post-captains at twenty-five, who himself

is a sharer in the glory of her achievement, will remark as the utmost of his admission when put to the question—that is if he says anything at all—“Oh, England is not half bad.” That is his way of saying, “The best in the world,” just as a rich Scotsman describes his fortune as the few shillings which he has saved out of his poor earnings. All humour is dangerous: this “not half bad” misleads us as it misled the late Mr. Krüger and his friends.

In our simplicity of mind we cannot understand that we and our doings have become proper matter of comment amongst the other communities of the Empire. We understand perfectly that an apparently casual remark made by the Premier in Toronto is intended to be heard in some constituency in Quebec. But we forget that there are cables and newspapers which convey that utterance to Australia, to South Africa, to India, and Japan. These outland peoples cannot know that the member who represents the constituency for which the remark is intended is clamouring for a place, and that his successor must be chosen.

The business of the leader of a party is to keep his party in power. The duty of a statesman may urge him upon the path which leads

to defeat. When it was a question of sending men to South Africa, it was quite proper for the leader of a party to consider the effect which his decision might have upon the minds of an important section of his constituents. It is also his duty as a politician to estimate the value there may be in creating the impression that Canada could manage her diplomatic affairs better than they had been managed heretofore. An outrage upon our allies and our fellow-subjects can well be turned to political advantage by doing something or even by doing nothing.

That was a fine saying of Mr. Kipling's at Ottawa: "Now there are certain things which a man cannot, must not, do merely because it is quite possible for him to do them—there are certain things which a man must do precisely because it appears impossible that he should do them." We in Canada have been doing what seemed good in our eyes, and in the main it is good. It is possible now for us to make mischief in the spirit of an overgrown and undisciplined child by inconsiderateness of speech and rashness of conduct. It is possible for us to be boastful, self-assertive, truculent, wayward, and I do not know that there is any one suffi-

ciently interested to undertake the business of correcting us. For these vices there is, however, the usual punishment of vice, the deterioration of national character, and—what is more to the point—the pained look of surprise on the face of a community which has been taught by centuries of experience to value correct opinions and urbanity of conduct. There are many things which are lawful, but not all things are expedient. It is quite natural that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, with his immense sympathy, should arrive at a full apprehension of the many excellences of Mr. Botha. I cannot but think it unfortunate that the names of Laurier and Botha should have become so inseparably linked in the minds of people too ignorant, too suspicious, to appreciate to the full the excellences of either. Yet it will appear to some minds that a man whom Laurier trusts deserves to be trusted.

Imaginative persons propose that Canada should give a battleship every year for the defence of the Empire. I am not insensible to the splendour of such an achievement, but not all Canadians are imaginative: certainly, the British Admiralty is not. There are circumstances under which a man is entirely justified in looking a gift horse in the mouth. When

his life is at stake that is no time for complacent acquiescence ; and it is easy to imagine the scrutinising face with which Sir John Fisher would view such a transaction, or even Lord Charles Beresford, if he could abstract his mind for sufficient length of time from his journalistic and financial peregrinations. Our warlike contrivance, no matter how humble on the day of its launching, would grow in one year to a *Dreadnought* ; and in five it would tower over the whole British navy. Ontario would probably insist that it should be commanded by an Orangeman. We in Quebec should certainly expect that the corporation of pilots, whose headquarters are at Batiscan, should have the privilege of putting it on the rocks, according to the immemorial rights of their *tour de rôle*. It would be intolerable to us if a Scotsman from Glasgow were put in charge of the engines, or Irish breath should sound the boatswain's whistle. We should require that her guns should fire a salute upon the Fête Dieu, and that the whole fleet should manœuvre in the St. Lawrence when there was a by-election in Bellechasse. No battleship would be tolerable to us which could not safely navigate the Lachine Canal on its way to share in the

festivities attendant upon the opening of the Toronto Exhibition.

Another method of paying old debts is by means of a "preference." There are two views on this subject also. The one view is that Canada should admit English goods at a lower rate of duty than that which is levied upon goods from other countries. Some rudiments of this principle have already been established; but there is no evidence that it has been received with much enthusiasm in England, or that the benefits which flow from it are very material to that country. Clearly it is of benefit to the English manufacturer, but it is a naïve assumption that the interests of the manufacturers are identical with those of the country as a whole. Indeed, the main benefit is to us in Canada, at least to those of us who are not manufacturers but professors with salaries which have been fixed these twenty years, physicians with established fees, clerks with immovable incomes, and farmers depending upon a soil whose fertility is in no wise affected by political device. We have tasted of cheaper and better books, cheaper and better clothing, cheaper and better house furnishings than those to which we were accustomed, and the taste is good. For thirty years

we have been fairly docile in face of rising prices. We have imputed to ourselves the richness of the rich, and deluded ourselves into the belief that we too were sharing in their prosperity. This preference has opened our eyes, and we are beginning to wonder if we could not get goods cheaper still by a more radical measure. When we labourers are convinced that we can have relief by the simple process of seizing upon it, then England will have all the preference which she desires—that is, freedom of opportunity. If blight should come upon any Canadian industry which has grown up under an artificial protection, we may console ourselves with the reflection that for thirty years we have been nourishing it, and if now it only cumpers the ground, the axe had better be laid to its roots.

It was never intended by the protected industries in Canada that this preference should give to us any relief, or to England any real benefit. The following resolution is on the books of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association: "That, while the Canadian tariff should be primarily framed for Canadian interests, it should, nevertheless, give substantial preference to the mother country, recognising always that

the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers." In an official document it is written: "The Canadian Government has been attacked by Canadian manufacturers, on the ground that the preference is seriously interfering with their trade. The woollen manufacturers have been foremost in this attack, and they have made very bitter complaints to the effect that their industry is being threatened with ruin through the severe competition from Britain, brought about by the preference."

Indeed there is grave evidence that this preference, however valuable to us, is of little value to England. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking before the assembled premiers in 1902, said: "While I cannot but gratefully acknowledge the intention of this proposal and its sentimental value as a proof of goodwill and affection, yet its substantial results have been altogether disappointing to us. The total increase of the trade of Canada with foreigners during the period named was 69 per cent., while the total increase of British trade was only 48 per cent."

There is another and more curious form of preference which is put forward as a method by which England shall be recompensed for her

labour in our behalf. Not satisfied with free entry into her markets, it is proposed that she shall tax all goods but ours. There are certain forms of humour to which the English mind is insensible, but it may be trusted to see the point of this jest.

The fiction that England is growing poorer and requires help arises from this eccentricity of mind of which I have spoken. Let us put it to the test. From 1871 to 1902 the exports of manufactured articles rose steadily, decade by decade, from 201 million to 227 million pounds sterling. In 1891 income tax was paid upon a revenue of 295 million pounds; in 1901 it rose to 354 millions. In 1891 the money on deposit in savings banks was 75 millions; in 1901 it reached the sum of 140 millions, and the number of depositors increased from five millions to nearly nine millions. During that period life insurance premiums increased by 12 million pounds, equal to 60 per cent. The provident societies in 1887 had invested 31 million pounds, and in 1901 the sum of 77 million pounds. Lastly, the heightened standard of comfort in living is indicated by the increased consumption of corn, meat, tea, tobacco, and beer. In face of these six proofs,

we may not dissent from Mr. Balfour's judgment that, "by all available tests, both the total wealth and the diffused well-being of the country are greater than they have ever been." It is well that these things be known, lest we fall into the error into which Mr. Krüger fell. Let us remember that the fable of the sick lion is after all only a fable.

We shall now inquire what Canada has done. We have not been idle in our business nor penurious with the public service, and—I imagine the statement will cause some surprise—we are paying more per head of population for the general good than England pays. This matter will bear some investigation.

Our contention is that a man who tends his cattle in Alberta, or farms his land in Saskatchewan, watches his sheep on the Australian uplands, or grows apples in Nova Scotia or New Zealand, is serving the Empire as well as if he carried on those operations in Kent. He must, in addition, take upon himself the ordinary duties of a member of a civilised community. He must assist in making life and property safe, in providing good means of communication with his neighbours. In some communities this is more difficult than in others. In new countries

the work has to be done *ab initio*; but we must not complain of that. The man in Kent has had these things done for him from time immemorial. Our fathers helped in the doing of them, and when they went out into the wilderness they left all behind them to be enjoyed by those who remained at home.

A man who lives in London and spends a yearly income of a thousand pounds pays in taxes £128, 14s., according to a calculation which Professor Mavor prepared for me. His income tax amounts to £50; the inhabited house duty upon a dwelling renting at £120 is £4, 10s.; the local taxation upon the same rating is £45. The duty upon spirits and wines is estimated at £24, and upon other dutiable goods £5, 4s. There are certain minor amounts like those exacted for servants, carriages, and armorial bearings. The local rate, of course, varies with the locality. In St. Clement Danes it is 5s. 11d. In Poplar it is 12s., but the average for all London is 7s. 6d., according to "London Statistics," vol. xvi. pp. 424-26. The entire amount which the Londoner pays works out to something under 13 per cent. of his income. A man in Montreal, who spends an income which is the equivalent of a thousand pounds in

London, pays in local rates on similar housing £55, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of his income, which leaves only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for general purposes if the scale were the same here as in London. Our taxation is so indirect that it is impossible to calculate exactly how much we really do pay, but I appeal to any professor in a university and ask if he would not be glad to be let off with double that amount. The average of our custom imports alone is 15.66 per cent., and we pay probably as much more for the "protection" of our industries against ourselves.

Out of twelve hundred millions of capital invested in railways, we have contributed 20 per cent. from the public funds. Those twenty-five thousand miles of railway we regard as a substantial asset of the Empire. We have incurred a debt of 365 million dollars, equal to 65 dollars per head of population, and the amount has been expended chiefly upon public works. Yet we have 500 millions upon deposit in banks, and our revenue would suffice to pay the debt in four years.

We in Canada must not complain because we contribute more towards the community life than the people of England do for theirs. Our needs are greater. This year we shall tax our-

selves to the extent of 130 million dollars, and we shall spend it all. There is much to be done. We must make ourselves safe. We have a frontier of 3500 miles to defend. Canada to-day is all frontier. When the new railway is constructed north of Abitibi, and our population extends well down the Peace River, we shall not so readily be cut in twain. Our next business is to see that no foreign power can obtain a lodgment on the Pacific coast. That is the lesson of Port Arthur. We must make secure against sudden raids Victoria, Vancouver, Esquimaux, and Prince Rupert—that place with the detestable name. The western mountains serve us well, and on the east the ice and fog are a help. Also the tides of the Bay of Fundy have their uses. It might as well be understood that whatever Canada does will be done because Canada's interests will be primarily served thereby: and this because, by serving her own interests first, she serves the Empire best.

Canada to-day lies like a saw-log, to employ Mr. E. W. Thomson's phrase. You cannot hurt it much by driving an axe into the ends. Along its course lies the United States alone, and has lain for over a century without doing us much harm. Their people are like ourselves. They

are not a wanton people, and their exploit in the Philippines will last them for a century more. Any cataclysm may occur: Canada may sink into the sea again, but in the meantime we may await with some equanimity any signs of subsidence. If we make our coasts secure—and that is not an impossible undertaking—we shall be doing something towards the Empire. By putting ourselves in a posture of defence we help to defend the whole. Not less than this may we do. The statesmen who control England's affairs to-day need not worry about us. We shall not trouble them to take upon themselves the labour of defending us, because we shall behave ourselves properly towards our immediate neighbour, and it is only from that quarter that danger could come.

But there is something further which Canada can do. We can help ourselves and England at the same time. We need men, and England needs to be rid of a large part of her population. The trouble with the England of to-day is that the people—at least twelve millions of them—are half-employed, half-paid, and half-fed. This does not mean that they are idle, penniless, or starving. A Canadian who comes across the Channel up to the Dover pier, will see a com-

pany of a hundred stalwart men who had remained idle all the day waiting for the arrival of the steamer and the chance of earning a few pence by carrying luggage ashore. At the hotel in London he will find a tumult of porters and door-keepers who are not even half-employed, because they spend most of their time waiting for stray bits of silver. If the traveller have occasion to get his hair cut, he will have the service of a large man in a "frock coat," who would be more usefully employed in the harvest-field. We could employ these millions profitably, but such an exodus would necessitate some alteration in the habits of the people who remain at home.

An Englishman loves to believe that he can do nothing for himself—when he is in England. No man in the world can do more when he is abroad. He pretends that he is the most helpless person in the world, that he cannot carry his bag, open the door of his cab, find an address in the directory, or use a telephone. He loves to believe that he is living in the eighteenth century. When he travels he thinks he is making the journey in a stage-coach. He carries a bundle of rugs lest the coach may be mired and himself compelled to spend the night

in the open. He imagines that he may be attacked by foot-pads, so he carries a bludgeon for protection; in every city which he visits he buys a new one, and comes home laden down with a bundle of faggots. He expects that his luggage may be stolen, so he places it by his side or above his head in the railway carriage. He thinks that rain is universal, so he carries an umbrella even to the Sahara or to Los Angeles; and, knowing that it may be stolen, he carries two. The late Dr. Routh of Magdalen, who died not so very long ago, believed to the end of his days that students still came up to Oxford in a stage-coach; and if a student were a few days late in entering, he excused him on the ground that the roads were bad, and that he had made the stupendous journey from Bath at an unseasonable time of year. If England got rid of her half-employed, Englishmen would be obliged to alter somewhat their domestic and social arrangements, to do for themselves what is now done for them by big footmen and other indolent servants.

One person out of ten in England is partially or wholly a pauper. They do not work because they are not obliged to. Neither would we. It is much more comfortable for a lazy man

to loaf on the pier, enjoying the cool breezes which come up the Channel, or watching the sunshine fall upon the green fields and "the dear white cliffs of Dover," than to labour in the hot harvest fields of Saskatchewan. He knows that in the end there will be a commodious poor-house wherein he may spend his declining years, or a pension as a reward for his life-long laziness. These are the people we want. We will make men of them, or demonstrate that there is nothing in them of which men can be made. We have no poor-houses here. If a man will not work, neither shall he eat. January will attend to the rest. We are a ruthless people against all but undeserved misery.

A man who will not fight for his food will not fight for his king. That is a wise saying. The spirit of England is not dead in those big bodies; it is only sleeping and starving. The men who have always saved England were strong eaters, hard drinkers, and good workers, fond of tangible comforts, and resolute that these should not be filched away. They "fared commonlie as well as the king." They were a prosperous and cheerful people: "Even our condemned persons doe goe cheerfullie to their deths, for our nature is free, stout, hautie,

prodigal of life and bloud." If only these strong idle men could be compelled to come upon our plains, their bodies and their spirits would be rejuvenated. True, they would miss the allurements of London, but their reflections on life would be more accurate than those which come to them in the gas-lit streets or the sixpenny restaurants.

Above all, there is one thing more which we must do: keep our spirit right and our heart from rotting with luxury or with poverty. In this we are not without assistance. "Happily," says a writer in a great English monthly, "the British spirit is at war with the American spirit for the possession of Canada's soul." And this is the sort of stuff for which we pay eighty thousand dollars a year for freighting over the North Atlantic, along with much other pot-house talk in which one of our ministers is assailed in the language of those publications—English-pink and American-yellow—which should be denied the privilege of our mails. We will attend to our ministers who require attention in good season.

I think now that it is clear that we do not cost England anything at the present moment. If England "cut the painter," as the saying is,

she would not save a penny. She would require the same number of battleships to defend her shores and convoy her food. We are not insensible to the sacrifices which England has made in the past on our behalf; but those were inseparable from her career of greatness, and we were making sacrifices too. The problem before all British subjects is a hard one: how shall the burden of Empire be shared equitably in the future, not how little can each partner do, but how much may be assigned to each without a dangerous disturbance of the status.

We have certain internal affairs which we propose to manage for ourselves. We will buy our goods where we like, and pay two prices for them, as we are now doing, if that foolish procedure pleases us best. We shall determine the relations which are to exist between the Provinces and the Dominion. We shall starve the Provinces and allow to the Dominion a life of extravagance so long as the Provinces acquiesce. If England choose to indulge in similar follies we shall not dissent. But England in its larger affairs is our England too. Edward is our King. Is it nothing to us that the House of Commons at Westminster can at a stroke determine to its own satisfaction our

status in respect of our King? Some of its members, we think, are open traitors; and one member, at least, during the present century, which is yet comparatively young, was convicted of high treason. Our political existence is bound up with the British constitution, and the theorists who are striving to make it of none effect would do well to remember that their performance may conceivably be of some interest to persons who do not enjoy the ineffable privilege of living within the hearing of their jangling voices. This is not the first occasion on which persons over seas—in Holland, to be specific—have taken an interest in what was going on in London.

It becomes us in Canada to take thought for our future, which is indissolubly bound up with the future of England. At this distance there is much to perplex us. We do not know what these new political forces in England mean, or what their leaders intend to do. We have seen Mr. Keir Hardie in India doing his best to stir up strife, and the late Prime Minister in Scotland casting doubt upon the omniscience of the House of Lords. We have seen one Government engage in a war of whose righteousness we were not entirely convinced; and a succeed-

ing Government hand over the prize of war to an enemy whose youths in their schools yet boast of the number of our people whom they have slain. But that may be the mere boastfulness of youth, and at times we ourselves are boastful. We have erected monuments to our dead, and Englishmen of official position come over and tell us that we were fools for our pains. We have heard Mr. Botha say: "We trust England, and desire to deserve her trust in us." Yet we remember that this is not the first occasion upon which England has been trusted by a one-time enemy and the mutual trust deserved. We remember even that England was obliged to protect the French Canadians against the Canadian "patriots" after the events of 1837. It has taken us a hundred years to get upon good terms with each other: it may take a shorter time in South Africa.

The existing House of Commons may not be to our liking; but it will not endure for ever. We are not enamoured of some of its members. Our affection is to the spirit of the Empire. Our loyalty is to the King who holds headship over our race, and to its ancient tradition of "truth, pitie, freedom, and hardiness." The genius of England in political affairs has been

little more than the capacity to exercise patience. The time has come for us all — in England, South Africa, Australia, and Canada—to learn the lesson and be patient, to become vitally interested in one another, to abstain from giving offence, to speak the truth in love. So, in time, we shall develop a mutual trust and affection, which must precede any final constructive policy, either economic or constitutional.

V

NEW LAMPS FOR OLD

THERE are persons in Canada, if one can believe what one reads, who are dissatisfied with their political status. They profess that their spirits are cribbed, cabined, and confined by their environment. They yearn for the day when they shall speak with the enemy in the gate without the voice of England's guns interrupting the controversy. It irks their souls that England should bear the burden of their defence; and rather than endure that indignity, they protest that their coasts shall go undefended, or that their inviolability shall be guaranteed in other fashion. They have not, however, made it clear to us what that beneficent power is which shall guard our coasts, whether the President of the United States or the Mikado of Japan.

Men speak about "cutting the painter" who have no knowledge of the results which are involved in that measure of seamanship, who possibly have never been off the land, and

certainly have never witnessed the catastrophe which overtakes a dory, to continue to employ their own figurative language, cast adrift and caught on a lee shore in the bight of an island. Or, to make use of another of their phrases derived from an operation of domestic medicine, they would "cut the cord," as if a slash of the knife were sufficient to ensure a thriving infancy, a healthy adolescence, a hardy manhood, and a serene old age. The only security they have to offer us is that occasionally a boat does continue to swim upon a summer sea, and that a certain proportion of infants do survive. But ships do not always lie becalmed, and many infants go down to an untimely grave.

We in Canada have lain so long ensconced up against the North Pole, defended upon the South by the good-will of the United States, defended upon the West by the neutrality of Japan, and upon the East by the fear which England has inspired in the hearts of all world-marauders, that our spirits have grown mighty. We rail and carp at the United States with impunity. We complain that they have stolen our territory. They prove before an impartial tribunal that the accusation is unjust, and then we protest that we are betrayed. We sack the

houses of our allies and banish our fellow subjects from our coasts. Nothing happens, and we conclude that nothing could happen under any possible circumstances. That was the fallacy into which Russia fell until she was rudely corrected that January morning in Port Arthur nearly five years ago.

No one has informed us exactly what will happen after we are bidden to go in peace, how we shall govern ourselves, whether by president or by king; and, in the latter event, whether our king shall be a log or a stork. It will not do to leave so important a matter to chance; and before deciding to forsake the old physicians for the new "political scientists" we should inquire further. Political surmise is always silly, but happily in the present case we have more than surmise to go upon. We have immediately at hand for our guidance the experience of a community which adopted the suggestion which is commended to us. The thirteen colonies which afterwards constituted the United States "cut the painter." It is a matter of observation what course they have run, whither they are heading, and what perils they have endured.

In the first place nothing happened to England; and the main grievance which the people

of the United States had against England was that she continued to exercise the privilege of existing without their consent or assistance. Their conduct for the first forty years was unfilial. It was not even that which is proper to the friend who has quarrelled with another. It is always difficult to forgive a person whom one has wronged. The remedy is to create imaginary offences, and this condition of mind prevailed down to our own times. To-day all intelligent persons in the United States, especially their historians, assume an apologetic attitude towards those events in which their fathers vain-gloried. The performances upon each successive fourth of July become more perfunctory, and it would not be surprising if some day that monument upon Bunker Hill were to disappear quietly, by way of delicate admission that it had been erected under a misapprehension.

These bloodless revolutions amongst us are no wiser than those old Fathers, and we may not expect any better guidance from them than the revolted colonists received. Cut off from the stream of European civilisation and from the institutions which the genius of our race has created, and left to our own devices, we should certainly commit acts of equal folly.

We might not destroy public property, since senseless destruction is no longer considered sufficient warrant of patriotism; but our public life would begin at the beginning. One who desires to know what that is would do well to read the dispatches of the Minister of France in Philadelphia from the year 1777 onwards. For the first five years of the life of the new Republic he affirmed that "there was no general Government, neither congress, not president, nor head of any one administrative department."

It is not so easy as one might think it would be to devise a new constitution by which a community can be governed. In the pretty phrase of Walter Bagehot, you cannot adopt a constitution any more than you can adopt a father. The Abbé Sieyès made that discovery in the agitation preceding the French Revolution. He had constitutions enough in his pigeon-holes, but none of them appeared to fit; and finally he was obliged to be content with the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, by which the First Consul was placed at the head of the Government. Again, when the French people were asked if they would be governed by Louis Napoleon or by an assembly, they replied that they preferred a method which they could com-

prehend by reason of their feeling and not of their understanding. A constitution must grow out of the life of the people, as the British Constitution has grown, if it would be sacrosanct in their hearts. A paper document, no matter how cunningly devised, is a feeble substitute.

It may well be that, if our political sooth-sayers were put to the question, they could offer us something more than prophecy and surmise. They might in the outset inform us where they propose that the final authority shall lie. That is not so simple a question as it appears. There are Jacobites in England to this day, and they retain a perfectly logical position. They profess allegiance to some descendant of James I. They pass over William III., who was elected by Parliament; Queen Anne, whose father and brother were living at the time of her accession to the throne; Princess Sophia, because there were before her James II., his son, the descendants of a daughter of Charles I., and elder children of her own mother. But in human affairs the logical has small place; in time the Act of Settlement came to be regarded as an act of Providence, and the king who rules in virtue of an Act of Parliament is now commonly regarded as ruling by the "Grace of God." Any

lawyer who tells us that Edward VII. is King in virtue alone of Anne, c. 7, will not be believed. It required the space of nearly a hundred years to convince the people of England that there was any reality in the action of their own Parliament. A king who can be made can be unmade as easily; and during the reigns of George I. and George II. the sentiment of loyalty did not exist. The Tories did not like the king and the Whigs did not like his office. George III. fared little better until the events of the French Revolution inspired in the minds of the people an absurd horror of democracy and a consequent apprehension of the sanctity of a king, which was quite as absurd and yet entirely useful. The people now had by common consent a repository of the sovereignty.

The people of the United States have not yet decided wherein the real sovereignty lies. Calhoun believed that it lay in the individual States. Madison also was of the opinion that the union was an operation of the States and not of the whole people. The Civil War was an argument to the contrary; but nothing is ever decided by force. For forty years we in Canada have been discussing our own document, but we have had a tribunal to which we

might appeal. Right or wrong, the questions which arose have been settled, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, with all its limitations, is probably a saner tribunal than a camp of armed men.

It is useless for us to pretend that our political wisdom would be any more profound than that of our neighbours, or that the Provinces would be more patient than the States, if an appeal lay to force and not to law. One of the Canadian Provinces, at least, has endured with patience for thirty years economic disabilities which the Confederation imposed upon it, only because the people have a blind faith that by some legal process a way will be found. If force were the only remedy, they would long ago have had resort to it.

We have seen that the Constitution of the United States has always broken down when unusual strain was placed upon it. The argument about its meaning, which had been carried on for nearly a century, ceased to be academic upon 12th April 1861, when South Carolina asserted its sovereignty, and a decision was not reached until 9th April 1865. The events of the Civil War lay between these dates. Again in 1876, a time which is within the memory of men now living, the Constitution broke down

once more, when it failed to provide for the election of a President. Four States sent in two different sets of votes, and there was no power to decide which should be counted. The device of an Electoral Commission was contrived, and the question was decided according to the political affiliations of the members who composed the Commission.

The fact of the matter is that the United States continue to exist because their Constitution is unworkable; or, what amounts to the same thing, because it works so slowly. A Cabinet has been evolved which is responsible to no one but the President; and he is not responsible to it. The Cabinet may offer advice, but he is not bound to act upon it, even if it be given unanimously. He can involve the nation in war. Upon him depends the kind of justice which shall be dispensed in the Federal Courts. The judicial history of the country has often been affected by the judges whom he selects. The appointment of Marshall by President Adams, Taney by Jackson, and Chase by Lincoln will serve as illustrations of this far-reaching power. The administration of all public business is in his hands, and he has the direction of international affairs. He may recommend

and can veto legislation, and, in addition, he is leader of his party. The people of the United States have got precisely the thing which they did not want.

The Declaration of Independence was adopted 4th July 1776, against King George III., and not against a king in the abstract. Indeed, officers of the army suggested that Washington be made king, and there was a rumour that the Convention of 1787 had decided to offer a crown to an English prince. Instead of a log they have got a stork, a ruler with more power for evil, as well as for good, than is possessed by any potentate in Europe, not even excepting Abd-ul-Hamid, since the events of July. They demanded a legislature which should be quickly and directly amenable to public control. A sudden revulsion of feeling may completely alter the House of Representatives, but the feeling must endure for several years before it can affect the Senate; and finally, any measure which is passed must receive the approval of the judiciary, which is appointed for life. The framers of the Constitution did not trust the people. The cause of the unrest to-day is that the people do not trust their rulers, and yet they are powerless to change, save by some stroke of violence.

Here are two illustrations of the futility of political experiment made in advance of events, which may be commended to our own theorists. The framers of the Constitution devised an Electoral College for choosing the President, to be "composed of the most enlightened and respectable citizens"; and it was presumed that "their votes would be directed to those men only who have become the most distinguished by their abilities and virtue." These men were expected to exercise an independent judgment, but now for an elector to do so would be considered an act of the basest treachery. The system broke down as early as 1804, when Burr for President, and Jefferson for Vice-President, received an equal number of votes, showing that party alignment was complete even at that time. The election of Senators is not done by the Legislatures nor by men who have places therein, but by a "boss" who will give due consideration to the "Senator's" past political career and his contributions to the party funds, or by a small interested class to whose interests he undertakes to remain faithful.

Secretary Bonaparte, with an appearance of gravity at least, advised the legalisation of the "boss," an individual authorised on behalf of

one of the parties to choose all candidates of that party for elective offices within a designated territory, to do the work intelligently, deliberately, and carefully, which is now done thoughtlessly, hurriedly, and negligently. This is nothing more than doing openly what is now done in secret; and the mere proposal of this substitute for self-government, however "un-American" it may appear, does not in reality mean a surrender of the democratic idea, but is a recognition of the fact that democracy has never existed in the United States.

The trend of politics in the United States is away from democracy, because the people fail to see that they have never governed themselves, and they have sense enough to see that the kind of democracy which they have had for a hundred years is running riotously. They now propose to take municipal government out of the hands of the few citizens who do control it and give it over to "Commissioners," men who in the Greek cities were called tyrants. This is known as the "Galveston plan," and it is the only expedient which good citizens can discern as a relief from a situation which has grown intolerable. This practice began in 1874 in Washington, and was revived in 1878. At present two commissioners

and an army officer constitute the government, and the system worked so much better than the usual form of local control, that it was tried in Galveston in 1901. Four years later it was adopted in Houston, and in 1907 by El Paso, Denison, Dallas, Greenville, and Fort Worth. During the same year the principle was accepted by the legislatures of Kansas, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota; and last year Mississippi gave power to all towns and cities within the State to adopt the commission form of government. The real remedy is not less government by the people but more government by the people, such as is enjoyed only under British institutions.

There are, of course, cynical persons who profess the belief that the precise function of a legislature is to do nothing, or rather to consume the time with talk until the necessity for doing something has passed away. They liken it to an oracle. By the time it is ready to give an answer the relevancy of the answer does not matter. This was the view which prevailed in Turkey when the Constitution of 1876 was created; and it was the intention of those who framed the Constitution of the United States a century earlier. The people did not get the

thing which they desired, and it is only now that they are beginning to suspect that they have been striving to make the shadow do the work of the reality.

Political institutions, when adopted by an arbitrary rule, as in the United States, have something to do with the life and conduct of the people who live under them. The social life is involved in them. In England the contrary practice prevails; the institutions have arisen out of the life of the nation and expand with it. It becomes us, then, to consider what the effect has been of government by preconceived notions, conceived, be it remembered, more than a century ago, when the sum of political knowledge was less than it is now. A constitution is like a creed. In both there is the assumption that the makers of them are infallible. To hold by them after belief in their falsity is established, results in spiritual hypocrisy and political cynicism.

The first business of a civilised community is to make life and property secure. Here are two peoples, the same by nature and living side by side. We in Canada have adhered to the traditional method of creating our judiciary, and we have kept the springs of justice undefiled.

The righteousness of our courts is in accordance with the best experience of the race from which we are both sprung, and life is safer in a Yukon dance hall than in Madison Square Garden. The people of the United States, on the other hand, with utter defiance of that experience which civilised nations in the process of time accumulate, have allowed to malefactors the direct privilege of naming the judges who shall adjudicate upon their offences, with the result that—it is Mr. Taft whom I am quoting —“the administration of the criminal law in all the States in the Union is a disgrace to our civilisation.” The chief of police in New York, who should know something about the matter, declared that “if all the lawyers and judges were killed off we would then have some justice.”

This reign of lawlessness is not, however, a matter of opinion; it is a spectacle for the world to witness,—a wealthy murderer seeking release under cover of the civil law, race riots in Lincoln’s home, a whole State terrorised by organised bands of marauders, its governor urging all honest citizens to arm themselves in self-defence, its leading newspaper declaring that “civilisation has become a myth, law a

joke, and the rights of man a delusion." And here is the sentiment of a former United States Senator: "I led the mob which lynched Nelse Patton, and I'm proud of it. I directed every movement of the mob, and I did everything I could to see that he was lynched." The attempted assassination of the prosecuting attorney in San Francisco, the murder of Senator Carmack in Alabama, the murder of Mr. Gonzales by Lieutenant-Governor Tillman in South Carolina, shows how widespread is the influence of this spirit of lawlessness. It is worthy of note that the offence for which Gonzales and Carmack lost their lives was the liberty which they took of expressing their opinion in the newspapers of which they were editors. Even in Maine, a district which has been settled for nearly three hundred years, a meeting of citizens was held, presided over by the Mayor, to show their "sympathy" with a criminal who had been sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. The most sober newspaper in America was moved to remark that "a set of burglars, passing resolutions in the interest of a pal, could not be more indifferent to law and justice than these eminent citizens of a New England city." The private vengeance of the Cave-man with his

stone hatchet is rife in the largest city ; the vendetta has grown in Kentucky to an organised defiance of all government.

In one respect at least our problem would be less involved. We have not impending over us the fearful Nemesis of the negro. Slavery and cruelty are twin sisters. The quality of cruelty is twice accursed ; it curses him who inflicts it and him who is the victim of it. Under the influence of this spirit the treatment of the criminal is more abhorrent in one State at least than it is in Morocco or Kwang-tung. From the windows of a Pullman car one may see white men chained by the legs and working in the public streets. There were slaves in New Jersey in 1860 ; but no slavery was ever so cruel as the slavery which existed in Georgia down to 1st April 1909.

The administration of the civil law is no better. The rich litigant has his poorer opponent at his mercy. Both Mr. Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court and Mr. Taft have spoken as plainly about the law's delay as Mr. Taft has spoken about the breakdown of criminal procedure. "A step backwards towards barbarism" are the words which Judge Brewer employs to describe the movement, instituted

by an interested class, towards a restriction of the power of the Court of Equity. "Everywhere," said Mr. Justice Wright as late as December 1908, "all over, within the court and out, utter, rampant, insolent defiance is heralded and proclaimed; unrefined insult, coarse affront, vulgar indignity, measure the litigant's conception of the tribunal wherein his cause still pends." For cases in which the civil rights of foreigners are concerned there is as great a necessity for Consular Courts in New York as there is in Shanghai.

Here is the experience of a juror in his own words: "On Monday morning I presented myself in company with a panel of about sixty other jurors, at the Court's building, ready to be rejected or sworn, as the case may be. It developed, however, that counsel wanted an adjournment, and we were excused until Wednesday afternoon. On reassembling, another delay occurred. We were instructed to come a third time, Friday morning. Shortly after we reached the court-room to-day, the announcement was made that the case could not very well proceed until a previous calendar was cleared; therefore we were excused till next Tuesday morning." In the city of New York

there are twenty million dollars of taxation in arrears, and it requires at the least two years' litigation to compel a delinquent to pay. One of the most precious possessions of a civilised community is the experience of those who have wrought out that civilisation and embodied it in the "common law." The people of the United States wantonly cast that experience aside; and their judges, assigning meanings to words and construing texts, are reduced to the level of a Chinese mandarin or a Hebrew rabbi in the Maccabean age.

This fiction of the power and glory of the people is fundamental in their art and literature as well as in their politics; and from men who are qualified to offer advice and give criticism they receive only adulation and flattery. One example will serve. Mr. Howells, in an interview in the *New York Times*, permits himself to say: "No nation in the world appreciates more keenly the artist's sincere appeal to the beauty and truth of life than do the Americans;" and he appears to have said this absurd thing with relish. A community which lays the axe to its communal roots may continue to exist and even to increase in bulk. But it cannot possess any real vitality until the wound is

healed or until it send down new roots into civilisation again. The people of such a community may protest that art, and manners, and all that makes for amenity of life is a flower which grows upon a dung-hill. Yet the processes which go on at the roots of a plant are as mysterious and clean as those which yield the perfume of the flower. The earlier settlers in New England brought with them the tincture of Milton. Later it was enriched by the quality of Addison and Johnson, and the Hellenising influence of Rousseau. The grimmest of the Puritan divines employed the language of Europe just as the mountaineers of Kentucky to this day express themselves in the phrases of Shakespeare's time. But the tincture faded out in Longfellow, and Lowell, and their companions; and since that time the people have been left to themselves, as we also should be if we followed their example.

The citizens of the United States have no social organisation, because they have an incorrect theory of society. A man may be an excellent politician or president and yet have none of that agreeableness which makes for amenity in private life. Lincoln was not celebrated for his social graces; Cromwell had his merits, but

they were not especially those which endeared him to civilised men; Napoleon was too outspoken to be amusing; and Walpole was in private life coarse and barbarous. The world is governed by conventions which it creates. The idea and relation of God and the King is embedded in human society. Without it all falls into disorder, and its absence is revealed even in the conduct of the house physicians in the hospital, of students in the university, and of waiters in the club.

The United States began with an act of lawlessness, and their conduct ever since has been marked by that spirit. Now this spirit of lawlessness has seized upon the women. It would be too large a matter to demonstrate how it has broken up the family life and disorganised the social relation, how it has instigated rebellion against the marriage tie, and defeated the intent of all created beings that they should be fruitful and multiply. One example of this disorderliness will be sufficiently explanatory: "Some days ago it was announced that to-day would be 'tag-day' for the benefit of the hospital. Almost every young girl in town volunteered her services. An assistant corporation counsel of New York let it be known that he would

give 100 dollars to the girl who succeeded in pinning a 'tag' on him. There were fully one hundred girls ready to 'tag' him this morning, when he came out of his house. Instantly there was a rush for him, and he was soon 'tags' from head to foot, but not before he had nearly had his clothes torn off by the excited young women. Justice Keogh was hearing a case in the Supreme Court Chambers when an army of the young women rushed into the court; and business had to be suspended while every lawyer and even the judge himself was 'tagged.' Then they visited County Judge Platt."

And how shall we choose our Log or our Stork? In precisely the same way as he is chosen in the United States. This is the fashion in which it is done: "The picture within the walls of the vast amphitheatre, as the presidential candidate was named, was truly grand in its magnitude. In front, to the right and left, below and above, the billowing sea of humanity, restless after hours of waiting, and stirred from one emotion to another, was in a fever of expectancy for the culminating vote. Instantly the Ohio delegates were on their feet, other Taft States following, while the Con-

vention hosts, in gallery and on floor, broke into a mad demonstration. 'Taft, Taft W—H—T' came in a roar from the Ohio delegates. Megaphones seemed to spring from concealed places and swell the Taft tumult into thunder. A huge blue silk banner, bearing the familiar features of the Secretary, was swung before the delegates, awakening a fresh whirlwind of enthusiasm. All semblances of order had been abandoned, and the delegates' arena was a maelstrom of gesticulating men; the guerdons [*sic*] of the States were snatched up by the Taft enthusiasts or borne under by the storm of disorder. The band was inaudible, a mere whisper above the deafening volume of sound. For ten, fifteen, twenty minutes this uproar continued. It was a repetition of the scene of yesterday, when the name of Roosevelt threw the Convention into frenzy, repeated in intensity and almost in duration; but there is a limit to the physical resources of throats and lungs. Relays had not been established, and at last the tired voices died down to a hoarse shout, and at last subsided. Amid this pandemonium, and with the galleries in full control, Chairman Lodge decided upon heroic action again to make the Convention master of itself. It was late in the afternoon

before the Convention, now literally sweltering from the extreme heat, and weary after nearly seven hours of continuous session, reached the end of the flood of eloquence, and the decks were at last clear for the decisive act—the balloting. But no, just as the last swell of oratory, the seconding speech for La Follette, had died away, like a cyclone from a clear sky, burst a La Follette demonstration which swept the Convention from its very bearings. The Secretary was powerless to make his call of the States above the deafening clamour. Seizing a megaphone he shouted the roll of States, Alabama, Arkansas, but his voice was swallowed up in the mad uproar.”

The intent of this assemblage of illustrations is to show that a people in much the same situation as ourselves, though more numerous, wiser, and richer, have not, after a century and a half of experiment, evolved a political condition which is satisfactory to a sane man. There is no evidence that we should do any better. A nation must grow from the roots, and in this process of growth a thousand years are as one day. A nation crawls on its belly, slow as a glacier. The optimists who demand only ten years for the fulfilment of political prophecy,

and the pessimists who require as many as twenty years, are both wrong. The whole matter is summed up in the philosophy of Mr. Dooley: "I have seen great changes in three years, but very few in fifty."

With a President installed for four years, an executive chosen arbitrarily, a senate elected, no one knows how though all suspect how, and safely ensconced for a term of years, with a popular assemblage reduced to the level of a debating society which is powerless to do anything but talk, the people are helpless until their moment of despotism comes around again. That is why there is no public opinion in the United States and no political discussion in their newspapers,—for the same reason that there was none in Turkey previous to the month of July. Argument does no good unless the conclusion can be enforced. In England and Turkey a Government can be turned out at any moment. In the United States the people are powerless, and have lost interest in public affairs. It is a Government of chance. The accession of Johnson, Arthur, and Roosevelt to the Presidency will serve as examples.

There is less government of the people by the people in the United States than in any com-

munity of white men with whose history I am acquainted. In their going out and coming in, in their rising up and lying down, in all the operations of their daily life, there is nothing which affects them so intimately as their tariff; and yet the representative from Nebraska, Mr. Hitchcock, from his place on the floor of the House, declared, 4th March 1908, that in the tariff the paper trust wrote the paper schedule, the lumber trust wrote the lumber schedule, the steel trust wrote the steel schedule, and the other trusts wrote the schedules affecting their interests. Upon this matter it is well to be a little more specific. The Dingley tariff was considered in a special session of Congress which was called to meet on 18th March 1897. It was passed by the House after only three days of general debate under the five-minute rule. Only one-fifth of the Bill was actually read in the House, and there was practically no opportunity for amendment by the members. At the end of the fourth day General Wheeler, of Alabama, declared: "Only 15 pages of this Bill have been considered. There are 148 pages of the Bill which have not been read." Mr. Dingley retorted that consideration could not be had in six months at the rate the House

was proceeding. On the last day of the debate the Committee of the Whole finally arose to report, and passed the Bill after having read as far as paragraph 109, relating to lenses. This paragraph appears on page 15 of the present tariff law, sixty-one of which were never read in the House of Representatives. Among the schedules not considered in any form were those of iron and steel; wood and manufactures of; agricultural products and provisions; spirits; cotton; sugar; vegetable fibres used in manufacture; wool; silks; pulp and paper; sundries; the free list; and the reciprocity paragraph. There was a roll-call on only one amendment, the others being adopted in gross. The Bill was passed on schedule time, 31st March 1897.

The world will scarce contain the books which have been written by themselves about the corruption of their municipal life, and it is not the present intention to add to the burden. Yet one cannot refrain from the reflection that the people which endure so complacently this public wickedness contains as large a proportion of good men as any other nation, amiable, amusing, sweet-tempered, religious, kindly men, whom one is fond and proud to be friendly

with. It is their institutions which are at fault, because they are alien to the race and prevent the people from managing their own affairs.

We, in Canada, pretend that we are living under British institutions. In reality we are not. We are living under the government of an interested class, who find a party in power and keep it there until it becomes too corrupt to be kept any longer; when it seizes upon the other party and proceeds to corrupt it. But there is this in our favour. We have the weapon in our hands. We can turn, and overturn, and keep the mass moving so that corruption shall not breed. A survey of our own public life does not convince us that we should do any better than our neighbours, if we were left to ourselves and to the institutions which we might devise. As it is, our public life is purifying itself automatically; the people have all power, and they are beginning to be sensible of the fact. Political salvation is free to us, and we have only to seize it. In the elections which are just concluded, men have broken away as never before from the weight of the dead hand of party control, and have invoked the free spirit which has brought us thus far.

The people of the United States constitute the

larger portion of the English-speaking race, and it is to the interest of the whole that it should be well with them. The increasing difficulty of their problems has made them more sensible of the difficulties in which other nations are involved, more reasonable in argument, more sympathetic in conduct, more tolerant of criticism, and more grateful for suggestions and advice. In short, their failure, which has for a long time been manifest to the world, is now manifest to themselves, and it is their best citizens who declare it most openly, who deplore it most sincerely, and cry aloud for amendment. This humility of spirit has effectually estopped the world's derision of their "experiment in freedom," and its place is taken by commiseration and fellow-feeling.

Their adventure in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in Panama, and the Philippines is a precious experience, since it is inducing them to consider how it comes about that they are enabled to do so well abroad and so ill at home. Also it gives them a taste of that scepticism which is in the world, when they perceive that they are not receiving any more credit for disinterestedness of conduct in their dealing with those regions than England has received for self-abnegation

in holding India and in her permanent occupation of Egypt. Intermingling in world affairs, they will learn the amenities which prevail between civilised communities, and, let us hope, refrain from insisting that all "aliens" who land in their ports from the first cabins of steamers shall declare under oath that they have never been in prison, asylum, or almshouse, and that they are not anarchists, or guilty of polygamy.

As a nation progresses from the manners and morals of a mining camp its difficulties become increasingly great. Indeed, the troubles of the United States are only beginning; and the solution will not be any the easier by reason of their lack of an unconscious patriotism, the absence of any concrete object which inspires the sentiment of loyalty, and of any considerable class which elicits respect. They have also to contend with the utter divorce of government from piety, the brutality of wealth, and the success of business cunning, from which we are, for the present at least, comparatively free. They have suffered, and we should suffer too, from the fact that these countries are a fertile field for the development of the worst features of the various races which come to exploit it. Diseases are held in check somehow in communities which

are accustomed to them ; but when they find a new soil they burst forth in fresh fury. That innocent malady of children, the measles, will decimate a race upon which it is suddenly engrafted. Similarly the enterprise of the Scotch, the facility of the Hebrew, the doggedness of the German, the obstinacy of the English, the alertness of the Italian, which in their native environment are moderated and confined by mutual pressure, when transported to these virgin fields, lose the character of virtues and become a menace to the life of the community as a whole.

Instead of seeking out new devices of government, we should rather employ those which we have. These institutions have carried us along the stream of history for twenty centuries, and have grown stronger and more suitable for our needs with each emergency which has arisen. They are part of our life and grow with it. They are ourselves, and we who live by them are the Empire.

In British institutions there is no finality. Growth and change are their portion. They are growing and changing to-day as never before. Our only hope is in the genius of the race, in that political skill which has enabled it to deal

with new problems as they arise. This freedom of mind is in itself a policy, a way of viewing and dealing with public affairs, a mind for progress and improvement, with a mind to conserve a situation so long as it is workable. Reformers who wish to reform or change for the sake alone of reform and change are merely innovators. It is a distinct policy in public affairs to leave alone those things which do not require to be changed, to change for the better when occasion offers, to hold fast to that which is good until something better can be perceived. The intent of this waiting is to secure the largest possible autonomy for the various parts of the British union, to serve and perpetuate this union, not as a fetich but as an association for securing all the autonomous parts in freedom, defence, pride, and affection.

The fallacy which lies at the beginning of all constitution making is that government is nothing more than an affair of business; and that dignity, loyalty, homage, and affection have no part. Accordingly the law of business is applied, whose ethic is the love of money, and its method the method of the jungle. Public service then becomes a slavish or a mercenary service, and love of country has no place.

VI

A PATENT ANOMALY

INDIVIDUAL ownership in lands or goods is not a natural right. It is, in civilised communities at least, based upon a convention which has been agreed to by a majority of the persons who constitute the society. This convention is liable to revision or abrogation at any moment which seems good to the community.

These principles apply to the ownership of an author in his book, of an artist in his picture, of an inventor in his invention. None of these persons claim exceptional treatment. They expect merely the same right of enjoyment in their creation as a citizen has in his house or a farmer in his land. They are willing, however, to yield to the citizen and to the farmer a perpetual enjoyment of the fruit of his industry. They are content to restrict their own enjoyment of their property to a limited number of years.

In the United States this right is based upon the constitutional provision which enacts that

“the Congress shall have power to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.”

In England the rights of inventors depend upon an enactment made in the reign of James I., in which is granted the privilege of the “sole working or making of any manner of new manufacture within the realm to the true and first inventor of such manufacture, which others, at the time of making such letters patent and grants should not use, so they be not contrary to law, nor mischievous to the state, by raising of the prices of commodities at home, or hurt of trade or generally inconvenient.”

In Canada the latest regulations concerning patents are embodied in the amending Act of 1897, and in the amendments of 1903. There is no theoretical discussion of the rights of an inventor. The law reads: “Any person who has invented . . . may . . . on compliance with the other requirements of this Act, obtain a patent granting to such person an exclusive property in such invention.”

In the United States ownership is actually

conferred upon the inventor by the terms "exclusive right to make, use, and vend the invention or discovery." In Canada the rights of the inventor are vitiated by the clause, "compliance with the other requirements of this Act." The present intention is to consider those "requirements," which leave to Canada the distinction of being the only civilised country in the world in which the ownership of an invention is vitiated in the very patent which assumes to grant the right.

The fatal defect in the title lies in the "requirements" as set forth in Section 37, which provides "that the patent shall be null and void at the end of two years unless the patentee within that period, or any authorised extension thereof, commence, and after such commencement, continuously carry on in Canada, the construction or manufacture of the invention patented, in such a manner that any person desiring to use it may obtain it, or cause it to be made for him at a reasonable price, at some manufactory or establishment for making or constructing it in Canada." This clause is not new in Canadian legislation. It was a feature in the Act of 1883, which the present one supersedes.

Upon the face of the law it might appear that this provision served a wise purpose, in putting at the disposal of the public all new aids to industry and convenience. The English law provides that a patentee can be compelled to grant licences to persons who are able to show that the reasonable requirements of the public, in respect to the invention, are not being supplied. In the United States, however, no such recourse is thought to be necessary, as their legislators seem incapable of the suspicion that a man could be in possession of a good thing, and not work it for all it was worth.

It is quite open to the Canadian Government to take the ground that it is not in the public interest to confer privileges upon an inventor; but if that is the case, it should be stated openly rather than concealed under cover of an Act which assumes to establish the contrary principle. It will not be difficult to make it clear that this obligation to manufacture defeats the ostensible purpose of the law.

It is understood that we are dealing with inventions of real value, not with those foolish vagaries upon which ignorant visionaries waste their time and substance. But even in such

case a reservation is necessary. No one could have guessed that the "unpractical" apparatus of two metals and a frog's legs was the germ of galvanism ; or that Faraday's discovery that the rotation of a simple coil of wire in a magnetic field would have resulted in the dynamo, which, in turn, is the central force in all electrical power development.

Let us now reconstruct the experience of an inventor in Canada. By years of patient toil, based upon equally long years of education and experience, a man perfects a method by which, as he believes, messages may be transmitted from place to place without the use of wires, employing only two sets of mechanism at the distant points. He patents his invention. Then his trouble begins. Inventors, as a rule, are not capitalists. He applies to a company doing a similar business by telephone or telegraph. These companies will not, under any circumstance, assist in the production of an appliance which, if it is successful, might ruin their business. The most they might do is to purchase his rights, and that would be largely upon their own terms, as we shall afterwards see.

Then the inventor applies to a manufacturer of electrical apparatus. But this person may

have a hundred reasons for refusing to embark his capital in a new enterprise. He may have no capital to invest. He may not be convinced of the value of the appliance. Probably he has had bitter experience of inventions which promised well, and failed, when put to the test of daily commercial use. But there is a more cogent reason still why the inventor should be turned away. Let him select some one else, and induce him to undertake the cost of putting the appliance upon the market. If the venture fails he has lost his money. If it succeeds, he is then compelled by the Act to sell the appliance at a "reasonable price" to his competitors who may have previously rejected the proposal. And the courts have determined that "a reasonable price" is based upon the ordinary cost, with profit added, of manufacturing, without reference to the value of the invention or the remuneration of the inventor.

It is conceivable that one might fail to find in Canada a manufacturer who would undertake the appliance. There are but two large companies in the country with the plant to make the article which we have selected for illustration, and they would probably be influenced by the same motives. Certainly they have disclosed remark-

able skill in discovering the mind of each other in respect of rates and terms of contracts. It is also conceivable that a company might engage in negotiations until the two years were about to elapse, and then withdraw, in which case the rights of the patentee would lapse, and his invention be open to the world. Companies have been known to do worse things. It is quite true that the Commissioner of Patents may, of his own good pleasure, extend the two year period, but that is a favour which cannot be counted upon too securely.

It does not follow that, because a man has money, he is willing to expose it to the risk to which all business is liable. He may have other views entirely, as any one can testify who has engaged in the operation of selling a gold brick. It may be gold, but again it may not; and the man with money has other occupation than putting the matter to the test. Capitalists are not so simple-minded as the law-makers appear to suppose them to be.

The much chastened inventor then turns to the United States. Presumably he has already protected his creation there. In a wider field, with manufacturers having abundant capital, and, it may be, more alert, he has less difficulty,

especially since he is not bound down by the two years' limit, by which time, in Canada, his invention would be open to all. If his idea is good, he reaps his reward.

These hardships are not so apparent in the simpler devices which any mechanic can construct, such, for example, as that marvel of ingenuity known as "pigs in clover." The position of the discoverer of a fundamental principle, or of a new application of it, is well-nigh hopeless. All the fundamental principles have been pretty well exploited, and the field of the inventor is limited to improvements. There is in Canada only one company which constructs machines for making shoes. If an engineer or mechanic has thought out an improvement, the best he can do is to offer it to his employer for such sum as he may be willing to give. If he refuse the price, the employer finds his retort in the Patent Law: "Go ahead and make your machine within two years; and then I will buy it from you at a reasonable price." In the United States the inventor can afford to wait; for, if his principle is sound, some one will want it before seventeen years shall have expired.

It was not until 1903 that even the partial validity of these contentions was recognised.

On 13th August an amending Act received assent, in which two important regulations were made. If the inventor was unable to manufacture his invention, he could protect himself by giving a licence "on reasonable terms to any person desiring to use it." On the other hand, a customer who was dissatisfied might compel the inventor to issue a licence, "upon such terms as the Commissioner deems just."

Let us now turn to the position of the Canadian consumer who requires the article. The owner may supply him for one year from the United States, without vitiating his Canadian rights. Then, if he wishes to avoid the penalty, he makes an arrangement with a Canadian firm to produce the article as a "by-product." The consumer is therefore compelled to purchase an article, hastily and perhaps carelessly made, or do without. He would be quite willing to import the article to which he has become accustomed, and pay the duty, but the Patent Law prohibits it. The Canadian manufacturer knows that the consumer cannot help himself, and that is not a condition of mind which makes for suiting a customer.

There is one thing more. Many compara-

tively trifling appliances are composed of many parts, some of which may require for their production the employment of highly specialised and expensive machinery. Few articles are entirely manufactured in any one establishment, and an inventor with the best will to conform with the law may find himself at the mercy of the one man who has the facilities for making any given part. He may require the services of a rolling-mill to produce one bar or bolt in his appliance; and the quantity which he requires may be so small that the machinery cannot be adjusted to his needs without excessive cost.

The Canadian Patent Law as it stands benefits no one. The patentee, unless he is a capitalist, is helpless in face of the requirement that he shall be a manufacturer also. The Government is a loser, because importation of articles patented in Canada is prohibited. The consumer suffers, because he is compelled to accept the article as offered to him, or do without. The law is constructed in favour of the manufacturer; yet it does him a wrong also, because it makes him a monopolist, and therefore robs him of the incentive to do his best.

VII

PROTECTION AND POLITICS

THE Germans have a proverb which runs—there is no sorrow when there is bread in the house. Applied to a nation, this summary of truth means, there is no political unrest in a country which is prosperous. Canada has enjoyed a long period of unbroken prosperity, and political problems have been left to solve themselves. But, in the by no means miraculous event of a series of lean years, there is bound to be an examination of the principles upon which our economic situation is founded, or even a reversal of those principles without sufficient consideration. That has been our experience in the past.

The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1866 wrought much hardship to this country. For a series of years before the denunciation of the treaty by the United States, the traffic between the two countries had an average yearly value of

75 million dollars. For a corresponding period after the abrogation of the treaty the value of the trade fell to 57 million dollars a year. The aggregate of Canada's foreign trade for the last year in which the treaty was in full force amounted to \$160,409,455. The year following it declined to \$139,202,615. The loss fell with grievous force upon the agricultural community, which had then no foreign markets but the United States; and there are men yet living who can recall the poverty of those years. The direct result of those "hard times" was the complete overthrow of the Liberal Government and the return of the Conservatives, who proclaimed that they were in possession of a sovereign remedy—Protection.

It is not too early to attempt to forecast the criticism to which the protection of our industries will surely be subjected in the not improbable event of commercial and financial distress. Indeed, such criticism is already to be heard, not in Parliament, it is true; but that is because the politicians are the last men in the world to hear anything. When the public mind begins to work freely, when ideas begin to play, when questions are subjected to

examination by men who are intelligent and disinterested, a policy must be well founded in reason, justice, or expediency if it would resist so relentless a process of thought.

The men in a community who are the most dangerous to the settled order of things are those who have the habit of exercising their minds, of forming opinions, and arriving at conclusions. These men are usually to be found in the professional classes, and it is upon them the present situation bears most hardly. Their salaries are fixed and prices are rising. Wages are stationary or falling, which brings the wage-earners also into the class of the discontented. Many farmers in the West lost their wheat eighteen months ago; and they were not consoled by the knowledge that the price of wheat was enhanced, when they had no wheat to sell, when indeed they were purchasers of wheat for seed and for bread.

It is easy, for example, for a professor in a university to appeal to the facts, and the fact is, that in the United States the cost of the necessities of life has not been so high since the Civil War. According to an investigation undertaken by the Labour Bureau, covering 2567 families, the average cost for food per

family in 1906 was \$359.53, against \$296.76 in 1896, and against an expenditure of \$349.27 in 1905, a difference between 1896 and 1906 of \$62.77, or 21.2 per cent. The increase in cost of living in 1906 over the cost in the previous year was something under 3 per cent.

In Toronto, Professor Mavor has shown that the prices of commodities sold in the markets advanced 50 per cent. between the years 1897 and 1902, and 64 per cent. between 1897 and 1906. In 1907 the increase over 1897 was 67 per cent. He cites specific instances: eggs advanced 67 per cent., potatoes 62 per cent., mutton 57 per cent., lard 50 per cent., butter 24 per cent., clothing 20 per cent., fuel 24 per cent., and rent 95 per cent. in ten years.

According to a memorial presented to the Royal Commission by the Civil Servants Association in Ottawa, the cost of living is shown in great detail to have increased by 28 per cent. in ten years; and the police force in Montreal have demonstrated that in Montreal it has increased by 36 per cent. It is quite true that wages have also increased, but the rate has not been quite so rapid as the rise in the cost of living, as the following dismal reading will show.

An hour's wages in 1906 in the manufacturing and mechanical industries in the United States would purchase only 1·4 per cent. more food than an hour's wages in 1905; and a full week's wages in 1906 would purchase only 1 per cent. more food than a full week's wages in 1905, whilst the cost of living had increased by 3 per cent. As compared in each case with the average for the years from 1890 to 1899, the average wages per hour in 1906 were 24·2 per cent. higher, the number of employees in the establishments investigated was 42·9 per cent. greater, and the average hours of labour per week 4·6 per cent. lower. The average earnings per employee per full week in 1906 were only 18·5 per cent. higher than the average earnings per full week during the ten years from 1890 to 1899, whilst the increase in the cost of living was 21·2 per cent. more than in 1896.

This calculation shows that the increase in wages has corresponded pretty closely with the increase in the cost of living. But this was during a period in which employment was fairly constant and the payment of wages continuous. During the present year employment has been difficult to obtain, and the total of

wages paid has been correspondingly less. Nor does the calculation touch the case of persons with fixed salaries. In Canada the salaries of chief clerks in the Civil Service are only 5.55 per cent. higher than they were in 1882, and in the United States there has been no increase since 1880. The same comment will apply generally to professors, physicians, ministers, and clerks.

In former times of depression the price of necessities always declined, but not immediately after the financial panics by which those periods were ushered in. The financial markets in the United States experienced their heavy stress in 1893, but it was not until three years later that prices of food had fallen to the low level. Indeed, it is probable that the rate of decrease will be slower in the present instance, since traders have acquired greater skill in supporting prices by the now familiar process of combination. During the year September 1907 to September 1908, the price of 47 commodities in the New York market fell 14 per cent.; but they are those of which the average man buys little. Iron, tin, and copper decreased in price 22 per cent.; but flour was 9 per cent. dearer than it was a year previous; beef was

25 per cent. dearer, and corn was 31 per cent. dearer. Yet the whole list was 15 per cent. higher than it was in June 1897.

When the established order was near its end in France before the Revolution, there were but two alternatives open to the class upon whom it bore so hardly—to eat grass or starve. To men in these days there is the safe middle course of political revolt; and a searching examination of our economic policy can only be postponed by unusually favourable climatic conditions during the approaching seed-time and the more remote harvest. Indeed, it is questionable if another good harvest will balk this inquiry.

Until 23rd October 1907, we were under the delusion that the old order had passed away, and that all things were made anew. Cut off as we are from the stream of history, and ignorant of its course, we imagined that we had risen superior to that inexorable law which is contained in the statement that two and two make four. We have found, to our cost, that this epitome of truth is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes, and there are men in gaol to-day for lack of that conviction. These problems, which we think are

new, were all elucidated in the dream of Pharaoh.

The course of events has always been something like this. In times of prosperity loanable capital and credits based upon capital are put into new enterprises, some of which for the time being are profitable. The increase goes on by arithmetical progression. Expenses of operation, interest charges, rate of wages mount upwards, accompanied by waste and extravagance of living. The assets become less and less convertible. Suddenly men discover that there is no more available capital procurable, because all the capital is already invested in more or less permanent form. Then comes disaster. There is nothing new in this. It has always been the finish of every commercial community from Nineveh to New York.

When the inevitable has happened men begin to explain why it occurred. In the United States the soothsayers found an explanation of the recent troubles in the wrong-headedness of the President. That is the practice of all primitive peoples, to attribute an eclipse to the anger of a dragon, an earthquake to the disturbed sleep of a great bird, and a pestilence to

the wrath of a god. When the trial comes to us we shall lay it to the charge of our system of protective duties, just as a certain section in England always puts the blame upon Free Trade.

The common argument in favour of Protection is that it develops natural resources, stimulates trade, encourages the investment of capital in new enterprises, and increases the rate of wages, even if it does somewhat increase the cost of production ; that it encourages the free spending of money and prevents the hoarding of capital. From Australia comes the newest reading of the formula: "To promote regular employment, to furnish security for the investment of capital in new as well as existing industries, to render stable the conditions of labour, and to prevent the standard of living from being depressed to the level of foreign standards."

If all these allegations be true, it means that the natural causes which lead to disaster are accelerated in their operation under a system of protective duties. A more useful argument in favour of Protection would be that it retards manufacturing and trade ; and there is a considerable bulk of evidence in favour of this view of the case. Those who favour the system

should develop this new argument against the day when every device will be required for its defence. Yet it will probably occur to their opponents that a less elaborate system than Protection could be devised for the purpose of doing nothing.

It would, I think, be the wiser plan to survey the ground in advance of the contest which sooner or later is bound to occur, to determine if a secure footing cannot be discovered. The truth is that Protection is a political device, and has not often been adopted consciously as an economic advantage. At times it is a strong weapon of defence, quite apart from its effect upon industrial development. That argument is unanswerable by its opponents; and if they could be persuaded of its political necessity, they might endure cheerfully the hardships which it imposes. Once the eel is convinced of his food-value estimated in calories, he might the more readily assent to the process of being skinned. But he must be well convinced.

So definite a statement of fact will bear some amplification, by tracing the causes for the existence of Protection in certain countries in which it is accepted as a cardinal principle. The United States, Germany, France, and Canada

will serve for purpose of illustration ; and it will be possible in a few paragraphs to set forth that Protection was adopted in all these cases for a sound political reason, and not primarily from commercial considerations. It has happened, however, as so often happens, that the effect is mistaken for the cause, the fish-hook for the fish, as befell the poor man of whom Aristophanes relates the sad history.

Under the Articles of Confederation of 1777, the new Government of the American colonies was declared to be merely "a firm league of friendship." At the end of seven years the French minister was able to report, "There is now in America no general government, neither Congress, nor President, nor head of any one administrative department." This state of affairs continued for five years longer.

A Convention was summoned for 14th May 1787, in Philadelphia, under the presidency of Washington. The Convention had scarcely opened before dissension arose between those who favoured the "large State" plan and those who favoured the "small State" plan. The large States had proposed two Houses, based entirely on population. The small States, following the lead of Patterson of New Jersey, con-

tended for a single House elected by equal State vote. The division of opinion was so clear that, in July, the small States were threatening a concerted withdrawal from the deliberation. The dead-lock lasted until Connecticut suggested a compromise—two Houses, one representing the State in proportion to population, the other giving an equal vote to each State. This compromise prevailed.

It is worth noting that Connecticut alone of all the States had a definite Constitution at that time, which dated from the year 1639, when it was established by the Fundamental Laws. This Constitution was drawn up by Thomas Hooker, who claimed that he drew his plan from the rules of government laid down in the first chapter of Deuteronomy. John Cotton, however, alleged the same authority for the model of "Moses His Judicials," which he had made for Massachusetts. A less esoteric exegesis must refer the Constitution of Connecticut to the practice of England, inasmuch as it provided for two Houses differently constituted. This, then, is the genesis of the Constitution of the United States.

The Convention adjourned 17th September 1787, after having adopted a Constitution, but

it yet required the ratification of the several States, and it could not pass into effect until at least nine out of the thirteen had signified assent. It was nearly a year before the Constitution passed from theory into fact, when nine signatories were obtained; yet the contest between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists, the friends and the opponents of the Constitution, continued. By small majorities New York and Virginia ratified, but North Carolina and Rhode Island were still recalcitrant. Then the pressure was applied. The duties imposed on imports from foreign countries were expressly directed to apply to imports from those States. Carolina was brought to terms, but Rhode Island was obdurate. A Bill was then introduced directing the President to suspend commercial intercourse with the little State. Rhode Island yielded. Thus was Protection born in America.

In the preamble to the first Tariff Act it is affirmed that its object was the protection of domestic manufactures. This was a mere subterfuge. The various States would never have ratified voluntarily; and secession, which actually did occur in 1861, was always a possibility which every statesman had to keep in mind. To hold the States together, Alexander Hamilton,

according to his own showing, appealed to the self-interest of the individuals composing them by the assumption of the State debts, the establishment of a National Bank, and a system of Protection by which a class of manufacturers would be created, dependent for prosperity on the Federal Government. The system worked admirably, and yet remains as the bond which holds together, if not the Government, at least the Republican party.

In Germany the principle of Protection was adopted for a precisely similar reason, to secure the interest of an interested class. Hamilton appealed to the manufacturers. Bismarck appealed to feudal and agricultural interests. Besides, Bismarck needed the money to relieve the penury of the Imperial treasury. His object was to keep intact the force which he had created, and he had no thought of either commercial or colonial expansion. "I was not born a Colonial," he said. In 1879, in presenting his case before the Reichstag, the Chancellor protested that he was not actuated "through any desire to assist certain branches of industry by means of tariffs and duties."

In France the retention of the protective system is due entirely to other considerations,

which have their origin in peculiarities of the national character and in national necessity. The French have a way of doing things to suit themselves. They accept the fact that their trade is decreasing, yet they are able to procure such necessities as they require for the living of their own life. The Government thinks it well that the people shall eat certain food, wear certain clothing, and live in a certain style. In the main this way of living is good, and they do not propose to accommodate it to the changed situation which would arise from the free flow of foreign goods into their market. The argument is frank, logical, and intelligible.

Canada was face to face with a curious situation after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1866. Commerce was violently dislocated, and a bitter cry went up for annexation to the United States. This contingency was in the minds of those who denounced the treaty. There was nothing foreign in the idea. Article II. of the original Articles of Confederation reads, "Canada, acceding to the Confederation, and joining in the new measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this Union." The Canadian statesmen, led

by Macdonald, faced the situation boldly. They replied by the enactment of the policy of Protection, which had in it a certain justification for being characterised as National. The scattered colonies which fringed the northern border of the United States were driven together by a community of interest which in time developed into that community of sentiment which now prevails.

~~The value of Protection as a political measure is quite apart from its effect upon manufacture and trade.~~ The industrial development of Germany originated quite independently of Protection. It began in 1870 and has continued to this day, though distinctly protective duties were not in force until 1879. In 1885 a Parliamentary Commission was created in England to inquire into all matters pertaining to commerce. It sat from August 1885 till December 1886, and took the evidence of every person who might be supposed to possess any information upon the subject, and of many who could not possibly know anything. In the first Report the Commission declared that the Germans "gain ground on us by means of their superior acquaintance with the markets, their desire to subordinate their own taste to that

of the customer, their fixed intent to obtain a footing everywhere, and their tenacity in keeping what they have once gained," (Blue Book C. 4893, p. xx). No mention whatever was made in the Report of any advantage which the protective tariff gave, although the Commission was pressed in many ways to make the admission.

The success of Germany is due, the Commission reported, not to its system of Protection but to its system of education, to German thoroughness, energy, experience, self-reliance, and attention to the minutest details. I am not saying that this is a good thing for the nation. On the contrary, I think it is a bad thing. In forty years Germany has lost her pre-eminence in the world of thought and imagination; but that is the price a nation pays when commercial supremacy alone is sought.

The industrial development of the United States is due in reality to the richness of their natural resources. Indeed, that country affords an example of the internal results of Free Trade and the external results of Protection. Their commerce has succeeded within their borders, but their flag has been driven from the high seas. The reason for this is, that the moment

commerce ventures beyond the three-mile limit it is beyond the protection of the tariff and is in competition with the world's carriers. American workers are accustomed to high wages ashore and will not accept less afloat. Therefore American shipping, with its increased first cost, cannot compete with foreign shipping except in times of prolonged commercial depression. To complete an analogy which would be instructive to us in Canada, we should imagine a system which protected Pennsylvania against New York, each one of which States contains a population larger than exists in the whole of Canada, and in a much more concentrated form.

By a confusion of thought, all duties upon imports, be they high or low, are classed as protective. In 1902 England exacted a duty of a shilling the quarter on corn and fifteenpence on flour; and yet no one assumed that Protection had triumphed. The same remark applies to the duties upon wines, spirits, tobacco, and silver-plate. The average of the Customs duties levied upon goods entering England is 5 per cent.; in Germany it is 9 per cent.; in Canada 16 per cent.; in the United States 19 per cent. There would seem to be a point

at which duties become protective, though that point varies in different countries and even on different articles in the same country. Below this level—it is 5 per cent. in England—a revenue may be obtained comfortably. Above this level, as in the United States, a new situation is created.

It is therefore not a question between Free Trade and Protection, but between duties of one height and of another. What this level shall be is determined by a variety of considerations. In the United States the consideration is the protection of an interested class. In Canada the conduct of rival communities is taken into account, and preferences are given in exchange for like favours. In Germany, also, Bismarck's policy of frank Protection, which had been in operation since 1879, gave way in 1892 to a policy of arrangement. In the latter year the new Chancellor laid before the Reichstag the alternative proposal. In presenting the new order he said: "Now that our industry has grown, our principal preoccupation must be to find outlets for it, and obtain on the most favourable terms possible raw materials in exchange for our manufactured products. It is by no means impossible to conclude commercial

treaties. Such treaties are even the means of maintaining a fair *quantum* of Protection, and so avoiding that deplorable uncertainty which leaves to all European States, unrestrained within contractual limits, the too absolute latitude of vieing disastrously with one another in a mad course along the way of Protection."

What von Buelow meant was that Germany intended to maintain her schedule but would endeavour to induce other countries not to increase their duties. In fact, the German tariff stands to-day substantially where it did in 1892, for once a policy is established it is extremely hard to dislodge it, as those persons in England who call themselves Tariff Reformers are finding out. However, if they do not succeed in imposing duties in their own country, they have by their talk alone put an effective stop to the further imposition of duties against their goods in other countries. In the United States to-day the extremest Protectionist is satisfied if he is allowed to "stand pat." More talk in England for foreign consumption would do good.

At the present moment in the United States—and in Canada also—the "stand patters" would do well to recite the liturgy of their argu-

ments. A protective system makes for stability of government, or rather, for the stability of a party. The relations of political affairs have grown so complicated in all democratic communities that they are adjusted by an expedient known as a "machine," and free men appear to be unable to conduct those affairs in any other way. The first duty of the managers of the machine is to keep in sympathy with the protected interests. The first law of business is to get into relation with the machine. An increase of 1 per cent. in the duty upon an article would, in the case of a manufacturer producing a million dollars' worth a year, amount to a considerable sum; and yet it "would not be felt" by the consumer. The mere suggestion of a diminution of 5 per cent. in the duty, which "would be much appreciated by the consumer," would bring all but the most recalcitrant manufacturer to a realisation of the advantages of the system. In England, where this incentive to stability does not exist, political parties are changing at the mere whim of the people. In the United States the Republican party has been in power for forty out of the last forty-eight years. In Canada the Liberals have ruled for thirteen years and the Conservatives for

eighteen years before that. In England there have been, since 1867, nine changes of Ministry.

Protection also makes for the organisation of industry, whereby steady work is secured. These large combinations of capital, known as "trusts," ensure "stability of price," and prevent the pernicious practice of underselling. The late Mr. Havemeyer, who was being examined in connection with a transaction by which fifty thousand dollars was donated to the managers of both parties impartially, declared in his evidence that the tariff was the mother of all the trusts. By the easy argument that the part is greater than the whole, self-interest has been expanded into "patriotism." In this way the splendid patriotism of the United States has been created, and its beginnings go back to the days of Alexander Hamilton.

But there is a justification even more profound for a protective system in a democratic community. We may admit at once that all men are born equal, inasmuch as all men are conceived in iniquity and born in sin. To preserve the fiction that all men continue on the same plane of equality is an essential of democratic government. This is done by the device of preserving an appearance of equality in

deportment, dress, manner of living, ideas, and speech. It is conceivable that, in an Old-World community which suffers from an aristocratic government, a poor man might be invited to a rich house where he would suffer the bitterness of seeing portraits upon the walls, silver upon the table, and Turkey rugs upon the floor. By centuries of oppression he might be sufficiently poor-spirited to enjoy the contemplation of these objects with never a glimmering that his manhood was outraged because he did not possess such treasures. This diversity of possession is hostile to the spirit of a free community. If a man cannot attain to these marks of greatness, he must have within his reach something which at least resembles them. Accordingly a spirit of imitation is created, and in the end all men look alike, dress alike, live in the same kind of houses, and think alike, which means that they do not think at all. A protective system keeps in operation the full machinery for producing these objects of imitation, by which all men are persuaded that, if they are not in reality equal, they are very nearly alike.

A nation cannot endure without an aristocracy of some kind. In many countries there

is an aristocracy made so by birth. In others there is an aristocracy of intellect. Failing these, an aristocracy of wealth will do, and such select body is created by Protection, composed of "merchant princes," "copper kings," and "iron magnates," who withdraw the common mind from a contemplation of the baser life. Their conduct in public places stimulates the imagination. It gives a glamour to the criminal courts. Their success arouses in the meanest an emulation to rise to an equal greatness. No toiler need despair. One day he may sit and spend with the great ones, and no creature of the pavement is so low that she may not consider herself worthy to become his consort, as the newspapers will say. Thus is established the eternal truth that all men are free and equal.

Competition is the life of trade but the death of the trader. Protection restrains competition and so saves the trader alive. The enemy within his gates is easily disposed of by combine, trust, or gentlemen's agreement. The enemy on the outside is kept in his place by a 35 per cent. tariff against him. The stranger may have better and cheaper goods, made so by natural advantage, by honesty in his nature, intelligence

in his conduct, and industry in his business. But this avails nothing to those who would buy of him, since to admit his goods would be to put the native and patriotic competitor to the labour of acquiring the characteristics of honesty, intelligence, and industry.

This "interested class" had descended into that profundity of cynicism in which they believed that this condition of complacency would endure for ever, and the panic of 23rd October found them entirely unprepared for the revelation that the deeper convictions and the conscience of the people had not been dead but only asleep. Their present attitude is one of expectancy until these uneasy stirrings of the moral nature of the community shall have subsided.

And yet, it may well be doubted that these arguments for Protection will prevail in face of the judgment of President Roosevelt upon the conduct of this interested class. In his situation he must have some first-hand knowledge of the thing of which he speaks. In a message to Congress in February 1908, he affirms that, "Every measure for honesty in business that has been passed during the last six years has been opposed by these men on its passage and

in its administration with every resource that bitter and unscrupulous craft could suggest and the command of almost unlimited money secure. The methods by which those engaged in combinations have achieved great fortunes can only be justified by the advocacy of a system of morality which would also justify every form of criminality on the part of a Labour union, and every form of violence, corruption, and fraud, from murder to bribery and ballot-box stuffing in politics. . . . Their wealth has been accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wage-workers to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition and to defrauding the public by stock-jobbing and the manipulation of securities."

You may persuade the consumer that he does not pay the tax; that internal competition will regulate prices; that trusts and combines lead to efficiency and a consequent cheapening of production; that the money which circulates in the home market is more desirable than money which comes from the foreigner; that a tax which is paid to a manufacturer is as useful to the community as if it were paid into the exchequer; that it is well to buy dear—and yet,

if his moral sense is outraged ; if he becomes convinced that the doing of these things leads to corruption of public life, the degradation of Parliament, the debasement of the law courts, the debauching of society, then he will calmly ignore these excellent arguments, and declare that industrial excitement may be purchased at too high a price, and that prosperity has turned to disaster. This condition of unrest is fatal to industry, which must have a basis of permanency. For example, the manufacture of steel is a precarious business when the system under which it is protected may be destroyed by the moral delinquencies of a person who is engaged in it.

Strong as these arguments are in favour of Protection, manufacturers in Canada also are beginning to suspect that the people at large will not be influenced by them for ever. The world is not governed by argument when moral issues are involved. They see what is happening in certain communities which enjoy the ineffable blessings of Protection—legislators bought as one would buy a drove of swine, men who have grown rich under Protection divorcing the wives of their poorer days and publicly consorting with harlots, their sons

committing murder in public places with impunity. Corruption of public life, and the degradation of society to a condition of savagery, is—so runs the feeling—too high a price for the people to pay for the enrichment of an interested class.

Until Canadian manufacturers are convinced that Protection of some kind will endure for ever, or at least for forty years, they can have no success in any industry which is other than indigenous to the country. Sir William Van Horne, above all others, should understand these matters. In an interview in the *Standard*, 25th January 1908, he affirms that industry cannot develop under a tariff which is liable to be suddenly changed. He urges that duties should be decreased at stated periods until a uniform 10 per cent. limit is reached. "If then," he said, "the manufacturer, on a 10 per cent. basis, could not 'make good,' it might be assumed that the particular manufacture was not indigenous to the country, and would have to perish."

We should now be pretty well assured that Protection is a political device, that at times it may be a valuable weapon of defence, rarely a commercial necessity, and not often an advantage

to the community as a whole. These facts should be well apprehended, since the adoption of a protective system is the means by which it is proposed to bind more closely the various portions of the Empire to which we belong. The basis of Protection has always lain in the establishment of an interested class. In Germany, it was the agrarian and feudal interests which were appealed to. In the United States and Canada the manufacturers were set apart. In England also it is the manufacturers whose self-interest is solicited. If those who live near the soil were to be benefited that would be a valid argument, because they are in a bad case, and it has always been the hardy Saxon peasants who saved England in her last extremity. But it would appear that only the manufacturers and their employees are in reality "Canadians" and "the people of England." That is the fallacy into which the nine tailors of Tooley Street fell.

To professed Free Traders there may come a time when they are willing to assent to a measure of Protection. Mr. Cobden did not hesitate to make a treaty of reciprocity with France, and Mr. Bright did not hesitate to approve of his action. Even Adam Smith advocated retaliation under

certain conditions, and he gave support to the Navigation Laws.

At the present moment it may possibly be that there are political circumstances in England which might justify the adoption of a protective tariff and Free Trade within the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain thinks there are. In a speech delivered at Newcastle, 20th October 1903, he said: "I think that without preferential tariffs we will not keep the Empire together;" and again, "You cannot draw closer the bonds that now unite it, except by some form of commercial union." And yet, in a speech delivered at West Birmingham, 15th May 1903, he said: "We have had a war, a war in which the majority of our children abroad had no apparent direct interest, and yet at one time during this war, by their voluntary decision, at least 50,000 Colonial soldiers were standing shoulder to shoulder with British troops, displaying a gallantry equal to their own, and keenest intelligence." Such a state of affairs must appear to be fairly satisfactory, and it is a matter of common knowledge that, since those events, the bonds have been drawn closer by the simple device of knowing each other better, and developing a mutual respect and affection. Indeed, it is entirely

questionable if the most cunningly devised tariff would induce 50,000 swords "to leap from their scabbards" as the saying is. A patriotism which is based on trade does not fight; it pays—in the same way as a coward hires a bully, as the Greek colonies hired Attica after Salamis, and a century afterwards turned upon her and rent her in pieces.

The clamour for Protection in England is based upon that fiction dear to the English mind that "the country is going to the dogs." And yet the Board of Trade Returns for the year 1907 show an increase in imports, exports, and re-exports of near a hundred millions sterling over those of the previous year. In Berlin, at the same moment, where such things should not happen, the people were demanding in riotous assemblages that the duties on the necessities of life be removed. In the United States there were at the end of the year three million men out of employment. In Chicago alone, according to the Association of Commerce, there were eighty thousand unemployed; and in New York, during the month of December, five thousand applicants for admission to the army were refused at the nine recruiting stations.

There is a class of mind to which the name

Retaliation is dear. It has a considerable sound. If Empire is Commerce, as Mr. Chamberlain asserted on another occasion, Retaliation may do very well. But the British Empire has attained to a considerable bulk by quite the contrary method. In the last thirty years its borders have extended by four million square miles, including a population of 128 million persons. This progress has been almost entirely unopposed, because all the world knew that trade would be carried on in those regions without reference to any real or supposed advantage which might accrue to England as a nation—without Retaliation, without Protection.

But the greatest feat of England in Empire-building since 1759 is that, during the past twenty years, she has won back her colonies by the cords of affection alone, not by Preferences within nor by Retaliation without. Now England may say, "What I spent, I had: What I saved, I lost: What I gave, I have." There is that scattereth and yet increaseth.

VIII

WHY THE CONSERVATIVES FAILED

THERE is a sound basis in human nature for the existence of a Conservative and a Liberal party. There are men who by temperament will hold fast by that which has been tried, who will rather endure the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of. These are the Conservatives. There are also those who have less dread of change, who have a clearer perception of the evils which they endure than of the good, and think that the two can be made more clearly distinct. These are the Liberals.

When the people holding these opposing opinions band themselves together in the public interest, as Burke puts it, to make those opinions to prevail, then two parties are created. A contest between these parties compels both to occupy a middle ground, as neither the one nor the other can prevail extremely. A compromise between extremes is the essence of political wisdom, since neither can be exactly right or

exactly wrong ; the foolishness of two fools is of more value than the wisdom of one. At any rate, such is the system which the genius of British institutions has decreed.

One who offers an opinion upon the one side or the other is thereby interesting himself in public affairs, is engaging in politics ; but there is a tradition sedulously propagated by interested persons, that public affairs must be left to a special class known as "politicians." Therein lies the root of all public evil. It breeds oligarchy, whether it be the oligarchy of a royal or priestly caste ; and tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of king, caucus, committee, or boss.

The "politicians" would have us believe that it is they alone who understand politics, that no one is qualified to express an opinion upon public affairs unless he has stood for election ; and, if elected, that his authority is increased if he has undergone the ordeal of petition or counter-petition for his unseating. A political economist is, according to him, a mere theoretician, a moralist concerned only about the right and the wrong of things ; and a University chair a convenient place from which abstractions may be uttered to boys. But the impression is not now so strong as it used to be that a professor

is necessarily a fool, and that he must look this way and that when he speaks upon public affairs.

All truth is one, and an investigation into any part of it reduces the proclivity for lying about the rest. A man whose business it is to disclose the truth as he sees it in any one department of knowledge, is more liable to stumble upon the truth in another department—even of public affairs—than he who is only concerned about success in controversy. One of the most interesting phenomena of human life is an election, and its results lend themselves to investigation as readily as any other operation of the common mind. It is in this spirit that I shall endeavour to set forth the reason why the Conservatives failed in their appeal to the electors of Canada on 26th October 1908; and we shall begin with the assumption which few will contradict, that they have failed; though, by making this bold assumption, one may lay one's self open to the charge of being an enemy, either secret or open. Possibly also, on the other hand, one may be considered a friend in virtue of telling the truth, or even an enemy for the same reason.

It is a sound maxim in politics, as well as in

many other departments of life, that words do occasionally convey a meaning to intelligent persons, which cannot be entirely taken away by a further arrangement of words. When Mr. Borden declared, for example, that the State should own the telephones and telegraphs he was so understood; and no reservations, or limitations, or restrictions which he made served entirely to remove the impression from simple minds that he had meant something when he announced State ownership as a principle of the Conservative party.

The more cynically minded laid more stress upon the qualifications of the statement than upon the statement itself, and in the end the question became so involved that both simple and cynical arrived at one of two conclusions: that he meant nothing, or did not know himself what he meant. He pleased neither Socialist nor Conservative. He confused those electors whose intelligence is not very acute, and who yet demand that they shall be told in plain terms what they are asked to vote for. It is a good practice in politics to have a meaning, or in default of that to say the same thing on each successive occasion when speech is required. At Halifax, Mr. Borden declared for public

ownership: in Parliament he proposed to put the National Railway under a Commission, which is an example of different things.

In face of his own demonstration that whatever a Government does it does badly, it was assuming too great a degree of simplicity on the part of the electors to expect that they would entrust to any Government which he might provide further opportunities for mismanagement. A man may be a Socialist or a Conservative. Few men are both at the same time, and it was to this small minority Mr. Borden appealed with his proclamation of State-ownership. That is the first reason why he failed; not being Conservative, and not being Radical when he seemed to be so.

On the Monday preceding the election Mr. Borden issued from Halifax a manifesto which bears evidence of having been written by his own hand without the advice which his colleagues might have given. In it he told the people what he proposed to do, but he neglected to tell them how he was going to do it. He promised them a Cabinet worthy of their highest ideals, but he neglected to mention the names of those ideal ministers who he proposed should sit with him. He did not tell them who was

to be Minister of Finance instead of Mr. Fielding, who was to replace Mr. Fisher as Minister of Agriculture, who was to be Postmaster-General instead of Mr. Lemieux, who was to have Mr. Graham's portfolio of Railways, who was to be Minister of Customs, of Inland Revenue, departments, be it noted, against which no breath of scandal has been uttered.

Every one knows that it is not customary for a leader of a party to disclose this information in advance, in case certain interests might be alienated. But in the present circumstances the people were of an inquiring mind, and no longer disposed to open their mouth and shut their eyes. If the leader had given some sign, it would have been welcome to a perplexed public. It would have been just as useful to the Conservatives if Mr. Borden had issued the Decalogue as a manifesto; and when he promised restitution "by all constitutional means of the pillaged public domain," he might well have made clear that such restitution would be exacted from his own friends as well as from his opponents. By being all things to all men one may gain some: more commonly one loses all. That is the second reason why Mr. Borden lost.

The liberal policy of expending money, which has been carried out so faithfully for the past twelve years, appealed to the imagination of the electors. People like to see things done in a grand way,—ships going in search of the North Pole, railways building to frozen seas, and bridges projected across mighty rivers. They are not much concerned if the bridges fall down, if the railways have their terminals in a wilderness, or if their Arctic expeditions never get much beyond Quebec. They would more willingly build an ice-breaker to force the North-West Passage than one to make daily and continuous trips across the Northumberland Straits upon the homely business of carrying freight, passengers, and mails, even if the solemn terms of Confederation are flagrantly broken by the neglect of these humble services.

The electors have the impression that, somehow, a great deal of money has been spent, much wasted, and probably a portion of it misapplied; but under the present fiscal system they have no clear apprehension of where that money came from. Each elector supposes that his neighbour supplies it, or the local merchant, or the importer in Montreal, or the producer or the consumer—anybody but himself—and there

is nothing so delectable as spending money which one has not earned. Indeed, there is something amusing in the spectacle of persons spending money foolishly so long as it is not one's own. For example, it is intensely comical to hear that a ship has been despatched into the North with provisions enough for thirty years, especially when "pemmican" forms part of the cargo. An elector will not vote against a Government which amuses him at the expense of his neighbour.

The fact of the matter is, that primitive communities like our own look with a lenient eye upon public robbery. It is only when men have robbed enough from the common store that they have an apprehension of the heinousness of robbery. That has been the history of the race. At first men robbed with a club in their hands, then with a sword, and now they employ the most efficient means of all, a vote of Parliament. Until we have country houses in Canada, inhabited by important families, represented as such in the councils of the country, satisfied, and resolute to protect what they have procured, by creating a sentiment in favour of vested rights, we shall probably see the policy of adventure succeed.

The masterly management by the Liberal leader of the last session of Parliament produced its effect. He looks upon British institutions with a fresh eye. He admires them unreservedly and allows to them their perfect work. With dignity and patience he permitted the utmost freedom of discussion; and when his opponents chose to obstruct the business of the country, he admitted their perfect right to follow that procedure. The country grew tired of the performance and placed the blame where it obviously appeared to belong, failing to remember that the Opposition had been striving to retain the privilege of examining original documents. He allowed one of his followers to make the amazing assertion—amazing, though perfectly true—that the minority has no rights except those which the majority allows to it, only to have an opponent protest, “You have had your turn, it is our turn now;” in utter forgetfulness that possibly it might occur to the people at large that perhaps it was their turn to govern themselves.

The record in Canada shows that a man of strong personality can retain the government so long as he chooses, unless he commit some flagrant breach of public morality such as

happened in 1872. The Conservatives endeavoured to fasten a like charge upon their opponents, but the people did not believe that they were telling the truth. When a person cries "Stop thief!" and the person who is addressed stops and demands that the charge be proven, the situation is embarrassing for him, and no great commotion is likely to ensue. If he does not prove the charge, he is apt to be regarded as a traducer or a disturber of the peace. In these days the people are interested, not in what a man says but in what he can prove. At any rate, the Conservatives did not prove up to the limit of their assertions; certainly not in the way in which the Liberals proved it in 1873, and again in 1891, though it must be conceded that the Government did not display any great alacrity to assist them, as Sir John Thompson did on the previous occasion. The country was offended by the aspersions which were cast upon it, and did not look with toleration upon the traducers of its public men. Canada occupies too important a place in the world to permit indulgence in the political methods of the mining camp. There is an obligation upon us to behave with the reserve which is proper

for self-respecting people, and upon public men to remember the maxim, that whilst they are patriots they must not forget to be gentlemen.

An explanation which appears to find favour in the defeated party is that the country was bought. To accept that as a reason is either a mark of political stupidity, or perhaps it would be more charitable to consider it merely a sign of temporary irritation. You cannot buy a million voters any more than you can buy rain or sunlight. Of course, water and candles may be procured in the proper markets, and there are some electors who would sell their votes as quickly as they would sell a sheep. Indeed, they fail to see any object in giving a man a vote if he is prevented from disposing of it to such advantage as he thinks best.

One must not, however, neglect to estimate the importance of that most subtle of all influences, the suggestion that upon certain conditions a public expenditure of money will be made in a constituency for a building, a canal, a railway, or a tunnel. People will do in the mass what they will not do as individuals. If all the promises which were made before the elections are fulfilled, one will see such canals in Canada as were never dreamed of by

the Martians, and edifices which will rival the Pyramids of Egypt or the Stonehenge of the Druids.

There is another and a more sinister reason why the Conservatives failed. In comparison with it "practical" politicians agree that all else is mere conjecture and fanciful speculation. The party actually in power has the money, and always will have it so long as the contributors believe that the party will succeed. If, from dissension within or from clamour from without, they judge that there is grave danger of defeat, they will transfer their fund to the opposite side, as they did in 1896. This fund, contributed by beneficiaries of the Government, is not necessarily used for purposes which are condemned by the "Election Act." It is employed for the accessories of the campaign, hiring speakers, sending out "literature," paying for bands and processions, purchasing torches and newspapers, and other engines for influencing public opinion.

The publication of election expenses by candidates is a feeble farce. In one case which came into the Courts in Montreal, the candidate had given his expenses as under three hundred dollars, whereas it was proven that

seven thousand had been spent. A candidate may allow a reasonable sum to his agent for legitimate purposes: there is nothing to prevent a well-disposed outsider from coming into the constituency and operating on his own account. Under ordinary circumstances these contributors hold the balance between the two parties, and will continue to hold it until each party is compelled to publish the amount of its campaign fund and the names of the contributors to it.

A defeated candidate has written over his own name (*Montreal Gazette*, 14th November 1908) that his opponent, who occupied a high place in the last Parliament, made use of the following words at a joint meeting: "Gentlemen,—the Government engineer is here with me. He will take contracts after the meeting for the construction of the new breakwater. See him and arrange with him for loading the stone and hauling the timber." This writer continues: "The purchase of timber needed for the breakwater was divided up between nearly all the electors of the place, so that each sold three pieces. We used to meet them, even on polling day, carrying their three logs and stopping at the polls to cast their votes. . . . Of

course, men were working at piers and breakwaters in several places on contracts which had been held back until the campaign."

To put the matter briefly, the Conservatives failed because their campaign was too picayune. The issues which they presented were too small. In reality there are only two questions which could vitally interest the country: whether it shall be handed over entirely to manufacturers for exploitation, and what arrangements shall be made by which Canada shall take her proper place in the Empire. Upon the Imperial question Mr. Borden said nothing and Sir Wilfrid Laurier did something. He gave to English goods a preference in our markets, and Mr. Borden declared that something should have been exacted in return. Mr. Chamberlain thought this preference was not of much value to England. Lord Milner thinks it is. We think that it is of value to us.

Speaking before the assembled Premiers in 1902, Mr. Chamberlain said: "While I cannot but gratefully acknowledge the intention of this proposal and its sentimental value as a proof of good-will and affection, yet its substantial results have been altogether disappointing to us. The total increase of the trade

of Canada with foreigners during the period named was 69 per cent., and the total increase of British trade was only 48 per cent."

Speaking before the Montreal Board of Trade, 20th November 1908, Lord Milner said: "Every now and then some belated or ill-informed free-importer still ventures to deny the benefit which the trade of the United Kingdom has derived from the existing Canadian preference. But it is impossible for any fair-minded man to resist the conclusion that 'preference has kept Great Britain from losing such trade with Canada as she still has got.'" He also quotes as an authority a Canadian Customs officer, who ventured "to assert in the strongest way that, if such preference had not been granted, British trade with Canada would be on a very small basis to-day." Possibly Mr. Chamberlain is one of these belated and ill-informed free-importers, though one would not suspect it from reading his speeches.

The *Edinburgh Review* is not over confident that a preference will be given to Canadian goods in England. It declares that, in England, "Preference is of no value as a topic for speeches: pure Protection must be preached." This *Review* affirms further, in the October

number, that the speeches of Lord St. Aldwyn and Lord Cromer have "demolished the scheme," and that it is improbable that any Unionist Government will attempt to restore it.

However this may be, the electors knew that the Liberals had done something towards reducing the taxation against the Mother Country, which has been more brutally taxed by the Colonies than ever the Colonies were taxed by her, even under the worst of the Georges; and they voted accordingly, at the same time signifying, in a poor blind way, their allegiance to the principle of a freer trade, which even in the moment of casting the ballot they were aware had been abandoned by those for whom they were about to vote. There are now in Canada two pseudo-Conservative parties, both standing for the same privileges and for the interests of the same class. It is little wonder, then, that the voters neglected to exchange the one for the other.

At any rate, the preference has been of value to us. It has given us cheaper clothing, and we have endured with some equanimity the sufferings of the woollen manufacturers, who apparently cannot succeed with a tariff of 35 per cent. in their favour. Had they themselves

borne their sufferings more heroically, and refrained from traducing their competitors in Leeds and Bradford, they might have excited our sympathy. At the moment we are more likely to offer them open charity than to allow them the opportunity of benefiting us by charging us higher prices for the clothing which we wear. We would be quite willing to entertain them for the period of their natural lives at the many excellent hotels and clubs in which Montreal or Toronto abound, provided that they release their employees so that they may engage in more lucrative employment, and allow to us the poor privilege of buying our clothing where we can procure it on the most advantageous terms.

In the manifesto to which reference has already been made, Mr. Borden declared for adequate Protection to all Canadian industries, forgetting that protection to all industries is no protection at all, since the essence of all protection is that one industry shall be favoured at the expense of another. As Mr. Crawshay-Williams has explained so sensibly in the *Toronto Globe*, it is obvious that, if any article on which a duty is levied be the raw material of any other industry, that raw material is made more expensive, and the working costs of that

industry increased. Those increased costs must be recovered by an increase in the price of the article manufactured, which may very probably be the raw material of some subsequent industry. And so through the whole chain of raw materials and finished products goes the effect of increased prices, and with it, naturally, a demand for protection or further protection on the part of the manufacturers, who in turn are hit by the increased cost of their raw materials and enlarged working expenses.

Mr. Borden was extremely solicitous about the interests of the "labouring men." He would apply the principle of Protection to justify the payment of a fair wage; but he gave no assurance that such wage would be paid by the employers even if it were justified; and he appeared to forget that those of us who are farmers, physicians, professors, ministers, teachers, and clerks are also labouring men for whom no provision was to be made. The country apparently is willing to endure the burden which it carries; it is in no temper to allow that burden to be increased. One at least of Mr. Borden's followers was loud in his protestations that he was "an ardent protectionist," which led men to inquire into the

causes of his ardency, and they could not be blamed for concluding that it lay in self-interest.

Tariff reform, if Lord Milner forecasts correctly, is bound to succeed in England, though Mr. Hirst, of the London *Economist*, prophesies differently. It is a safe guess, based upon the results of the elections, that tariff reform would succeed in Canada too. The Conservatives failed, because the oracular utterances of their leader conveyed the impression that it would be reformed, if they succeeded, in a direction contrary to the desire of the electors at large. The Manufacturers' Association affirm that they have taken the tariff out of politics. The people are very likely to bring it in again when they get the chance. By refusing to exact a *quid pro quo*, Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared himself to be the true Imperialist. Men who are not traders are extremely suspicious of an Imperialism which is based upon trade and not upon family affection and loyalty to the ideals of the race. A tariff reform Imperialist comes to Canada protesting that the endurance of the Empire depends upon the adoption of a certain economic theory; "and straight he turtle eats; claret crowns his cup;" but one may ask: "What porridge

had Mr. Crawshay-Williams?"—for example; and the turtle and claret are supplied by men who are enthusiastic that a preference be given to the manufacturers of England upon all articles, save only those which they themselves produce. It is not this meagre thing the people of Canada would give to England if they had their way at the polls; but they did what they could by voting for a party which has made some small beginnings in the direction of freer trade.

The electors at large cannot be expected to possess such profound knowledge of the philosophical basis of government by party as Mr. Chipman, for example, displays, but in course of time they have developed an instinct that privilege and monopoly are the portion of the Conservatives—prerogatives of the throne, doctrines and practices of feudal times, and the denial of the franchise to men. On the other hand, they have learned that Liberalism has always been the voice of popular discontent and the instrument by which those evils were to be overcome. They have not learned that the strife is at an end. The struggle was over in Canada thirty years ago, and Macdonald gave the sign when he named the Tories "Liberal-Conservatives." The present writer

ventures to suggest to the Liberals that they designate themselves "Conservative-Liberals"; and with the neatness of an algebraic equation the question is solved, or rather by a process of cancellation it vanishes into nothing. It requires many years to remove a notion from the public mind. There are men in Virginia who think that they are yet voting for Andrew Jackson, and at the last election there were Liberals who voted for Laurier under the impression that they were supporting the principles of Hampden and Pym against those of Wentworth and Laud.

Parties do not change when it is to the interest of the most of the people that they should remain as they are. These interests are often of the slightest, but in the bulk powerful. In the smallest village there is at least one person, postmaster, stationmaster, road inspector, who thinks his position might be influenced by a reversal. He has friends and relatives, and though they may suppose that they are casting a portentous vote for the eternal principles of Liberalism or Conservatism, in reality they are voting that their neighbour shall not be disturbed in his little place.

It is a principle of which much is heard in

these days, that a small "preferential" will produce great results. Even terms have their value. A man will accept a small "honorarium," a larger "fee," or a still larger "salary," for services which could only be procured for very high "wages." A secretary will engage to do work for a salary of fifteen dollars a week for which a stenographer will demand eighteen dollars in wages. Indemnity will apply very well to fifteen hundred dollars a year, but the electors are disposed to view twenty-five hundred dollars in a different light. They are disposed to think that they were paying full value for the parliamentary services which they are receiving, and it must be admitted that there is ground for that view of the case. They have been taught most sedulously that the Liberals might be expected to lay violent hands upon the public money, but they did not discover any resolute opposition on the part of the Conservatives against the "grab," as the procedure, by which members of Parliament unanimously voted to themselves an increased indemnity, was called with some degree of correctness.

There are various minor reasons, so insignificant in themselves as to appear almost fanciful,

and yet they were not without their force. Many persons were influenced unconsciously to vote for the Liberals because Sir Wilfrid Laurier is possessed of a certain strangeness to them, in his manner of speech, his gesture, his appearance, and because he makes a fine display in public places. When he visits London he is believed to enjoy the unique privilege of "going in by the King's Door." This takes no account, of course, of his urbanity, his sweetness of temper, his vision; since, if one were to insist upon these, one would feel obliged to dwell upon the qualities of his opponent, which if equally admirable are at least not so alluring.

Up to this point we have been upon the firm ground of fact, and saying only those things which any one might discover for himself if he were diligent in reading the newspapers. But there were factors which made for failure in every Province and in every Riding. They partake more of the nature of surmise, and their estimation may well be undertaken by the professors of "practical politics" when they meet together in Ottawa during the winter. Reference may be made, however, to the local conditions which prevailed in

Ontario and the West to illustrate the importance of a good tactical position.

Sir James Whitney helped Mr. Borden with his hands tied. He could not go into the contest unreservedly, because a large portion of his support in Ontario comes from the Catholic and French, who, curiously enough, if left to themselves, are nominally Conservative. By attacking Sir Wilfrid Laurier he would alienate this support from himself. Also the Irish Catholics were appeased by the admission of Mr. Murphy to the Cabinet. In the West the people feared that the Grand Trunk Pacific would be hampered if Sir Wilfrid Laurier were beaten. This fear was exaggerated by the action of certain members of the Manitoba Ministry, who, in conjunction with an old newspaper campaigner of British Columbia, delivered an attack upon the Grand Trunk Pacific. This pamphlet fell into the hands of an unusually un-discerning correspondent of the London *Times*, who cabled its contents to London, and Mr. Hearst's American newspapers participated in the onslaught. The whole incident resembled that of 1892, when the operations of a Canadian journalist in the United States proved so disastrous to the Liberals. Quite improperly the

Canadian Pacific Railway, which has behaved with benevolent neutrality throughout, was blamed for instigating this attack upon its rival. A counter-attack was made upon the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the idea was propagated that its whole power was against Sir Wilfrid. This led to a strong movement in his favour, as no railway company is enthusiastically beloved by the people whom it serves. Until the Grand Trunk Pacific is finished it will have friends enough in the West to resent any interference with the project; but their enthusiasm will give place to lukewarmness when they begin to pay for using it, and they will sigh for "the good old days of the C. P. R." But all this is the common wisdom of every corner grocery in Canada, and may well be left to the philosophers who spend their spare time in "talking politics" in those comfortable resorts.

And yet, no true Conservative need lament the result. His party is in no condition to undertake the burden of government. Canada is in the situation of a man who has mortgaged his farm up to the limit, and every one knows what happens to the heir of an encumbered place. The present good harvest alone averted disaster, by enabling the West to meet or

renew its obligations. The last loan of 25 million dollars which was offered on the London market ended in a fiasco, notwithstanding the allegations of a political despatch, not sent, however, by the "Canadian Associated Press," that organisation which costs the country 15 thousand dollars a year, and concerns itself most with recording the manifold activities of eminent "Anglo-Canadians" who reside in London.

We have seen that the essential of British institutions is two properly constituted parties. Canada will be best served if both Liberals and Conservatives get back into those lines which are prescribed by experience. In the present disorder fundamental principles are lost sight of. When there are no principles, mere partyism takes their place, and that is commonly referred to as a "curse" which the country will not endure for ever. Possibly government by party is a worn out thing, and when members of Parliament get tired of the present farce they will begin to exercise their common-sense and transact the business of the country as if it were their own. It is now nearly twenty years since the Conservative party abandoned their principles, or about four years before the Liberals

abandoned theirs, especially the one which had to do with freer trade.

The break-up began about the time of Macdonald's death. The guiding principle of that statesman was the maintenance of good will between races and between the holders of creeds; but after his death a section of the party became restive. Led by Dalton M'Carthy it reverted to the ideas of George Brown, and refused to follow Bowell in his campaign in favour of the minority in Manitoba. In the last Parliament the Conservatives had 75 members. In the next it will have 87, drawn more generally from the country at large. In a sense it will be more national and less dominated by the influence of one Province and of the ideas referred to. The next occasion of magnitude on which the party showed that it had ceased to be Conservative was the South African War. Had they taken the ground that the war was a just, necessary, and provoked war, that Canadians wished to send a contingent, but that the sending should be preceded by a Parliamentary vote in its favour, they would have conserved the political status of Canada; they would have assumed a position of deliberative dignity; and when the contingent went it would go after due formality

and with a more impressive result. Instead of this they tried to stampede the Liberals into sending a contingent summarily, which displeased Quebec and the Conservative spirit of Canada at the same time. The Liberals made some demur, then yielded. They held Ontario by sending the contingent, and they held Quebec by appearing to yield to an overwhelming public opinion which had been created in its favour.

The Conservative party had always been the real progressive one in Canada, but by their opposition to the building of the Transcontinental Railway they reversed their position and gave fresh colour to the view that they were actuated by a spirit of affection towards the railway which they themselves had created. Again they failed to act conservatively in the case of the Autonomy Bills. The heart of the situation was that new provinces were to be created out of a territory in which Catholics had long enjoyed separate school privileges. To deprive any section of the community of its privileges is the exact reverse of the Conservative tradition. But they were under the impression that the Liberals had won in 1896 in virtue of the cry for "provincial rights," instead of by reason of the break-up of the Conservative party; and

by adopting that policy they lost their position and the election at the same time.

No party can expect to succeed in Canada which does not recognise frankly and absolutely that the rights of the French are exactly the same as the rights of the English. There must be no suggestion of concession, because there is nothing to concede. There must be no air of condescension or superiority, because politically all are equal. There will be Catholics in Quebec as long as there are Protestants in Ontario, and for every Orangeman there will be at least two Nationalists. Catholics may have their own prejudices in favour of going to church, of educating their children in an atmosphere which is tempered by religious influence, of electing men of their own language to represent them in Parliament. They do not compel us to go to their churches or to our own either; they do not ask us to educate our children in their schools, or even to educate them at all; they do not demand that we shall not vote for a man because he speaks English. The Conservatives will continue to fail until they become Conservative again.

IX

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CANADA

ANY person born of white parentage would probably answer "Yes" to the question—"Are you a Christian?" But this affirmative reply might be given merely to indicate that the catechumen did not desire that he should be considered a Mussulman or Buddhist. Indeed, there are circumstances under which he might quite properly decline to be put to the question, on the ground that the matter was one which was personal to himself.

But even if he did assent, he might consider himself free to make certain reservations. He might be quite truthful, and yet entertain his own views as to what the term "Christian" does actually signify. He might, for example, decline assent to the terms of the Athanasian creed, on the ground that it is non-sentimental in expression and unsympathetic in teaching. Or again, he might of his own good pleasure hold himself immune from the wrath and curse

which are contained in the confession of Westminster. He might possibly regard these epitomes as embodying the truth as it appeared to the makers of them, whilst he himself had an entirely different apprehension of it.

Similarly, a British subject born in Canada might reply "Yes" to the question—"Are you an Imperialist?" without committing himself to a statement of his understanding of the term, or disclosing the reservations which he was disposed to make. If by the term is meant a man who desires that all things shall be done which can be done, even to the losing of his life, by which British institutions shall be made to endure, by which all parts of the Empire shall be co-related for mutual defence and growth, by which the bonds of family affection shall be shortened and strengthened, then the question would receive unqualified assent.

But it is permissible to such an one to adopt a critical attitude towards all proposals which are put forward in the interests of this desirable consummation. He may conclude that certain measures, however alluring they may appear, will have an effect exactly contrary to that which was intended, and that the framers of them, no matter how well meaning, may after

all have been mistaken. His very loyalty and veneration will induce a degree of caution which may appear to others who are equally loyal, but more readily excitable, as amounting almost to recalcitrancy, and his bewildered anxiety as sullen indifference.

At the risk of such misunderstanding I propose, from the standpoint of one whose forbears were cast away upon these shores three generations ago with only a copy of Horace as equipment for beginning life in a new world, to examine certain of these proposals, and it may be to offer certain counter suggestions,—in short, to make some observations upon the psychology of Canada, to show forth the working of the Canadian mind upon the great question of Imperialism.

In the outset we should not fail to take notice of the fact that not all of us in Canada are of British descent, that our fathers fought upon either side at Culloden, and the Boyne, on the plains of Abraham, and at Waterloo,—but happily we of this generation upon one side alone in South Africa. We cannot too often remind ourselves that it is nearly as true to say that this is a French-speaking community as to say that it is an English-speaking com-

munity. The deficiency against the French is only 9 per cent., but it is amply compensated for by their aptitude for public affairs, which has enabled them to dominate the politics of Canada ever since Confederation.

Their habit of mind is conservative, and they have an intense suspicion of anything which they cannot understand. Before Lord Milner came they had heard him described as a pro-consul; and, being good classical scholars, they associated him in their minds with Mark Antony, or Pompey, or Herculaneum, and it required some evidence to convince them that he was merely an English gentleman who loved his country and was spending his life in its service. In the phrase of one of their own, they "are happy as they are." They are thoroughly content with British institutions which ensure to them their language, their religion, and their laws; and they cannot understand this running to-and-fro in the earth, and the outcry that, unless something is done, something will happen. They have learned only too well the tradition of English Government, which is to leave things as they are lest worse befall. In political affairs there is much to warrant this inquiring habit of

mind, an uncertainty about the result of preconceptions, and general scepticism as to the consequences of any given action. Public affairs are too vast, too complex, for any man to say how they are, much less to determine what the consequences of them will be.

The close apprehension of this truth is the prime cause of success in the working of the English system of government. What appears to be cynical indifference and superior nonchalance is in reality the sum of political wisdom. The pursuit of a theory, and the transformation into action of a conclusion which has been reached by a logical process, is the cause of the French failure and the American impasse. Lord Granville and Mr. Gambetta illustrate well these antitheses as they were revealed in the negotiations which ended in the occupation of Egypt. Both were agreed that something must be done. But, as Lord Cromer points out, it is a dangerous thing in politics for a responsible minister to accept vaguely the principle that something must be done, when he has not a clear idea of what should be done; and that the acceptance of the principle will not improbably lead him into doing things which he will subsequently wish

had been left undone. Lord Granville saw objections to every possible course, and whilst he was seeking the one which offered the least inconvenience, events happened in France which permitted England to occupy Egypt alone. Even whilst agreeing with the terms of Mr. Gambetta's draft of a joint note, Lord Granville made the characteristic reservation that the English Government "must not be considered as committing itself to any particular mode of action, if action should be found necessary." That was shrewd advice which Sir Francis Baring offered to his young relative: "Now that you are a young man, you should write down not what has happened but what you think is going to happen, and you will be surprised to find how wrong you are."

Again in 1884, at a conference of all the Powers which was assembled in London for a discussion of the financial affairs of Egypt, Lord Granville was resolved that no other subject should be considered, much less acted upon. The question was put to the vote, but the Turkish ambassador was asleep at the moment. He was awakened and the matter was explained to him; but as he had heard nothing of the discussion he made a foolish

remark which compelled Granville's opponents to yield. He remarked afterwards that no political prescience was keen enough to enable a man to foresee that an old gentleman would go to sleep at the right moment.

This policy of having no policy was well illustrated by the reply which Lord Granville sent to Lord Goschen, who had written that, unless clear instructions were sent to him, he would resign his post at Constantinople. All the information which he vouchsafed was contained in the words: "Thank you a thousand times for expressing your views so frankly to your old colleagues." Again, when Lord Cromer was at a loss to know what to do in Egypt, he received the suggestion that perhaps his "presence in London would be a good excuse for a dawdle." I am quite well aware that such a practice leaves the impression that a Government is the sport of circumstance, and that its policy is uncertain and vacillating; but the mistakes of action must be set over against the mistakes of inaction.

Had the question been put to Lord Granville which Mr. Lee put to Mr. Asquith, if the United States was included in any two powers, whom it was the intention to outbuild in war-

ships, he would probably have replied that he had never thought of the matter, but would give it his immediate attention. Possibly he might have added that a quarrel between English-speaking men, *et cetera*. Of course he would have gone on building warships without saying anything about it. It is not what a nation says it is going to do that produces an effect; it is what it has done and is doing. In the present instance it is worth mentioning that the United States has a pension list of nearly a hundred million dollars a year. Unless these veterans live for ever this huge sum will be available for other purposes, since the last thing the people of the United States think of is a reduction in expenditure. This "affirmative" reply has put a new idea into their heads by which money may be spent and the necessity of reducing their taxation obviated.

I am not saying that the whole duty of a Government is done when it succeeds in doing nothing, though all activity has its perils. A Government which devotes its energy to Socialistic propagandism, and incident thereto imposes a tax of eight millions sterling in times of falling revenue, can only in degree be distinguished from the legislature of Kansas, which enacted

the Ten Commandments, or from the legislature of Nevada, which introduced a Bill to prohibit the wearing of corsets by women.

An unreserved loyalty does not necessarily imply an unqualified admiration. The French in Canada are not as well able as we are to dissociate our England from the performance of the Government which controls her affairs at any given moment. Even at this distance they can see the machinery slackening off, and they can hear the rattle of it. They read extracts from the London newspapers which are more outspoken in criticism than we should dare to be. The spectacle of women breaking up the deliberations of the House of Commons is revolting to their sense of decency, and the situation of a suffragette chained to the grille does not fail to appeal to their sense of the ludicrous. The Parliament of Westminster, the French Canadian, with his old-fashioned ideas, believes might well be left to its task of being a worthy mother of parliaments, whilst these women in turn should endeavour to perform their function by becoming mothers of men.

To them this Imperialism is a new thing. The word in French, and in English too, has a considerable sound, but that does not make the

meaning of it any clearer to them. To complete their confusion, Lord Milner came and explained that "Imperialism" did not mean Imperialism at all; indeed, he went so far as to say that he believed that "Empire" was a misnomer. Happy as we are, we must convince our French-speaking fellow-subjects, and ourselves too, that the present situation cannot endure for ever,—that England be left to bear the whole burden of her defence and of ours as well. We cannot share in the glory of Empire unless we share in its danger and, to put it bluntly, in the expense of it.

An official publication, issued, as we are told, by direction of the Minister of the Interior, begins with these words: "Canada! What melody rings round the name Canada: the country of magnificent potentialities and boundless possibilities, the fringe of which is scarcely touched. The vowels of her tri-syllable fall on the ear like the beat of an angelus—awakening, uplifting, exalting. Canada! The name inspires. It is a very trinity of alphas, and eloquently symbolic of the leading part she is destined to take in the future history of the world." This is all very well. It is what Thackeray's Irishman would call the height of

fine language entirely, but there is another sound which also conveys a meaning to the ear of the world, which does not share in the delusion which is believed in certain quarters, that King Edward and the Pope both owe their high positions to their influence with Sir Wilfrid Laurier. To put that bluntly too, it is the sound of guns.

Upon a recent occasion we saw fit to make attack upon our Japanese allies, and sacked their houses in Vancouver. Japan regarded the incident with good-natured toleration, but it is imaginable that circumstances might arise under which she would not be disposed to manifest such sweetness of temper; and, judging from her dealings with Russia, it is possible that, if she should see fit to make reprisals, she might not choose the moment or the method which would be most agreeable to us. An attack would be most inopportune upon an occasion such as the present, when our little fleet is out of commission on account of the suspension of so many captains and engineers whilst charges are pending over them of having accepted secret commissions from contractors.

It is some extenuation of the charge that we do not pay for our defence, to say that we have

not been penurious with our money, though too much must not be made of it. We have built 25,000 miles of railway at a cost of 1200 million dollars, and of this sum we have contributed 20 per cent. from the public funds. We have expended upon our public business 365 million dollars, equal to 65 dollars per head of population. That is our debt, and we could pay it down, because we have 500 million dollars upon deposit in the banks. We are now engaged in building a railway which will cost us 150 million dollars more. Our appropriations for the current year demand 130 million dollars, equal to 216 dollars per head of population. It is only by this expenditure that we have been able to lift ourselves out of that condition of semi-barbarism which our fathers found when first they settled here.

For the sake of encouraging our industries, as we supposed, we have paid to the manufacturers of iron and steel in the last thirteen years the sum of $9\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars. We have paid out of our savings 2 million dollars to encourage the makers of lead and the purifiers of petroleum. Last year we imported 370 million dollars worth of goods, and paid upon them 58 million dollars. This is at the rate of

27 per cent.—excluding duty-free articles—but when the profits of intermediates are added it approaches close to 40 per cent. In addition to this, the manufacturers produced goods which cost 718 million dollars, and added to that a sum nearly equal to the duty which would have been paid had these goods been imported.

We are not insensible to the part which the English investor played in the development of our resources. He gave of his money freely, and in some cases he lost it. But it was given of his own accord, and always with the expectation that he would receive a higher rate of interest than he received at home. Whether the relation was one of partner with partner, or of debtor with creditor, we have worked together; and I am putting these facts forward, not as a reason why we should do nothing further, but as an excuse why, up to the present, we have not done more. It would be a relief to turn away from these laborious and commonplace expenditures to contemplate a battleship which we had constructed and presented to the British Navy; and it would be an inspiring occupation giving advice to the Admiralty as to how the vessel should be employed.

Isolated as we are in the backwater of the world, we are occupied only with our own small affairs. We open our newspapers in the morning with the dull feeling that nothing has happened which is of interest to us, unless it be that a drought is broken in the Northwest, or that a new vein of silver has been discovered in Cobalt. The meanest labourer in an English shire may chance to learn, as he refreshes himself of an evening with a pot of beer in his favourite public-house, that a portion of the fleet—his fleet, because he has paid a few shillings for its maintenance—is on the way to some port, whose very name and place is a mystery to him, for the express purpose of protecting interests which, in very truth, are his own. He swells his chest with a pride which is unknown to us; and it may be that he orders an extra pot of beer in honour of the event. Then he sits down to an elaborate discussion upon the naval strategy which his fleet should employ; but fortunately he is accustomed to a neglect at the hands of his admirals, which would be irksome to us.

We are not fully persuaded that a navy is not for war alone: it is for peace, and there is no hour in the twenty-four when it is not

rendering service, just as a guardian of the peace has for his first function the keeping of the peace. To suppress a fortuitous riot is merely an incident in his career. I suspect that the success of Mr. Lemieux upon the occasion of his recent visit to Japan was in some degree at least due to this same navy concealed in the mists of the North Sea, and for which we do not so much as see the bills.

Our difficulty is that, with the best will in the world, we do not know what more to do. If we made a direct contribution for our defence, we should expect to have some voice in the disposition of it—the same voice, for example, which an English farm-labourer has; and we are afraid that if we did speak we should say something foolish on account of our lack of experience. The man who pays has a prescriptive right to call the tune, and in exceptional cases to join in the chorus. But if a man would sing because he must, it is an obligation upon him to learn how to sing in unison with his fellows, or at least to sing the same tune. I fear that if we were entitled to lift up our voices, there would be some uncertainty whether our tune should be pitched to the note of the “Marseillaise” or the “Battle

of the Boyne," which would with "Rule Britannia" make a sad discord. Who shall say what the song shall be. Tell us that, and the question is solved. Are the people of England prepared to listen to the voice of mere Colonials in proportion to the number of us and the amount which we pay?

A half-sovereign apiece would pay the charge. But the payment of this insignificant amount might in some way appear to confer upon us the privilege of offering an opinion upon the members of one branch of the legislature, whose main concern in life seems at this distance to be "to do themselves well," and only occasionally to discharge the high duties of their order by appearing shepherded in their House to thwart the will of the people, and advance the interests of their friends. To put the new colonial wine into old bottles would make the rent between the social orders worse than it is now. Any real Imperialism must begin with a new deal, as they say in the West, and not by putting fresh cards into the hand of the social order and the commercial class with which it has chosen to ally itself.

An Imperialism which is deep founded in patriotism, in love of country, in community of

sentiment, in fidelity to the ideals and traditions of the race, appeals to all but the meanest minds even of Canadians. Material interest will do for one of the pillars of Empire, but if it is supported only upon the interests of an interested class it will collapse like the Quebec bridge, to employ a simile which we can understand. An Imperialist who proclaims that he is a conqueror going forth to conquer with a sword in his hand we can comprehend; but an Imperialist carrying a bag and proclaiming that trade is Empire, appeals neither to the reason nor to the imagination. An Imperialism which is based upon trade appeals only to traders. We in Canada are not traders, and our loyalty is not for sale either to the manufacturers of England to-day, any more than it was to those of the United States in 1891. It will not do either to say that trade agreements are only one of many methods by which the loose bonds shall be knit close, because they will pull contrary to the main fabric, since the spirit of trade is as often a stubborn malignity as it is a reciprocal benevolence.

If it be true that trade is Empire, and that preferences will grapple Canada to England with hooks of steel, it is equally true that the

same hooks will be just as powerful in the contrary direction when they are applied to the United States. The noble lords of England, who proclaim the sufficiency of trade agreements for Imperial purposes, have fallen under the dominion of the spirit of business. It was a saying of Lord Melbourne that there would be no more staunch supporter of the Church of England than he, so long as it did not intrude religion into the sanctity of private life. One may make the same concession to business, provided it leave public affairs alone.

The "business man" is the last in the world to know anything of business; he can know nothing of politics, because he looks at questions in narrow detail, not abstractly nor in relation to the well-being of the community. Business and politics are in direct antithesis, because the ethic of the one is love of money, the ethic of the other is love of men: "He that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks. He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder. So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth

night and day. All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work. They shall not be sought for in public counsel nor sit high in the congregation: they cannot declare justice and judgment."

I shall now proceed to set forth as plainly as I can—and it will require some expanse of writing—the exact nature of that proposal which is put forward by which all parts of the Empire shall be bound together for co-operation and defence. It is what is commonly called a "business proposition," namely, that England shall adopt a protective tariff against the world, and shall extend to the British dominions beyond the seas certain concessions which will be denied to foreigners, in return for similar concessions from those dominions in favour of English goods. This proposal is based upon certain existing facts, namely, that England is the only country in the world in which trade is reasonably free,—as a matter of fact the duty upon goods entering England is upon an average something under 5 per cent.; and that all other countries, Canada included, exact a heavy duty upon the import of English goods. This policy of Protection—it is as well to call it by the right name, and avoid the use of such terms

as Tariff Reform, and such euphemisms as broadening the basis of taxation—is making remarkable headway. The evidence is that within two years a General Election will be held in England with this question in the forefront, unless events happen elsewhere to alter the situation entirely.

These events are the abandonment of Protection in Canada and the United States. We are not now discussing whether a policy of Protection would be beneficial to England or not. We are only concerned with its effect upon the union of all parts of the Empire into a coherent whole. Obviously a remedy directed against conditions as they exist must fail when those conditions change or entirely pass away ; and I shall now proceed to discuss the probability of such alteration. This movement in England starts with the assumption that Protection is an eternal law of the nature of Canada and the United States, whilst in reality the walls which these communities have erected around themselves are already tottering to their fall, because they are based upon the fallacy that what is to the interests of a class is to the interest of the community as a whole.

There is in Canada a body of “business

men," which is known as the "Manufacturers' Association." It numbers 2200 members, and includes, according to the late president, nearly all persons who are especially interested in the maintenance of a high tariff. This Association is closely organised with a permanent secretary, who, it is purposed, shall reside permanently in Ottawa for the better supervision of legislation. The Premier, speaking at the annual meeting of this Association, 17th September 1908, said: "Only last year I told you that your Association was one of the institutions of the land, and had taken such firm root in the soil of our nationality that it had almost become one of its organic laws." Sir Wilfrid has a pretty wit; and, apart from his tone and gesture, it is sometimes a little difficult to be sure that he is not speaking ironically. Business men are not notoriously clever in the uptake, and they appeared to believe that the words which the Premier employed were commendatory of their efforts to embed their principles in the organic laws of the country.

For forty years the manufacturers have claimed that they were the people of Canada. The utmost of their claim now is that they are the "East" and that they created the "West." At their last meeting the manager of a cotton

mill inquired: "Are we to understand that, after we have made the 'West,' the 'West' is going to cut our throats?" In somewhat similar words Lord North addressed the American Colonies. The West has been created by men who have emigrated from the United States and from the older Provinces of Canada. In one day in September 1908, 5 per cent. of the adult male population of one Province migrated to the West, and this movement of population was largely directed by the economic conditions which have been imposed under the "organic laws" to which the Premier referred.

The manufacturers are now quite complacent because "the tariff has been taken out of politics." In these western communities there is nothing which is dreaded so much as "politics." The proposal now is to appoint a Tariff Commission. Addressing the Premier, the president, Mr. Hobson, said: "Our attitude towards the tariff is non-political. It is in this spirit that I am authorised to state to you, Sir Wilfrid, that while we recognise that the responsibility rests upon the Government of the day of settling the tariff, this Association will heartily welcome the establishment of a permanent Tariff Commission, to whom the multifarious details that enter into

the tariff question should be referred for investigation and report." The Premier in reply said: "Your chairman in his address stated that it was your desire to have a permanent Tariff Commission. I do not yet realise what that means; but I have to say that if it means you would have a permanent Commission such as they have in the United States, following the working of the tariff from day to day, and watching its effects upon the producer or consumer, I do not see why such a Commission should not be appointed."

It is not improbable that the manufacturers, reasoning from the fallacy that they are the people of Canada, have concluded that they will be the Tariff Commission also. Possibly they are misled by one of the articles in their constitution, which reads: "The Association may, by by-law or resolution, provide for the appointment of committees of inquiry into any matter affecting the manufacturing, import or export interest of Canada, and such committees may examine upon oath any party who appears before them, and the evidence so taken may be used to assist the Association in arriving at a decision with reference to the matter under consideration."

The party which calls itself Conservative adhered to this policy and does yet adhere to it. The Liberal party existed for the sake of controverting such doctrine. In their platform, as laid down at the Ottawa Convention of 1893, they affirmed: "We denounce the principle of Protection as radically unsound and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labours." Sir Richard Cartwright, the great exponent of their economics, affirmed in 1894, "Our policy is death to Protection"; and yet three years later, in 1897, the year after the accession of the Liberals to power, was the year of the great betrayal, when these principles were entirely abandoned by the Liberals. Indeed, the Conservatives reduced the tariff on total imports from 20·5 per cent. to 17·13 per cent. between 1889 and 1896. The Liberals reduced the rate from 17·13 per cent. to 16·33 per cent. in the ten years from 1896 to 1906; but they have adopted a system of bounties and an "anti-dumping" clause which more than countervails for this reduction.

We in Canada have a problem before us. It

is precisely the same as that which faced Sinbad the Sailor. But our "old man" has delivered himself into our hands when he declared that he was "out of politics." Henceforth we shall submit him to the scientific method. He has now no one party to stand for him; and by the subtle treachery of ideas we shall compel him to relax his hold. The fatal blunder of the interested class was to get "out of politics." Freed from a blind allegiance to party, the public mind will work freely upon this question also.

But not all Canadians are of the mind of the Manufacturers' Association. A memorial to the Government in 1906 by the Dominion Grange, the Farmers' Association of Ontario, and the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, reads: "We ask, in the coming revision of the tariff, that the protective principle be wholly eliminated: and as proof of our sincerity we will gladly assent to the entire abolition of the whole list of duties in agricultural imports." A resolution of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, which claims to represent 200,000 organised workmen, reads: "That, while free trade in labour is held by our employers to be necessary for the protection of their interests,

we hold that free trade in the products of labour is equally necessary for our well-being."

The public is not quick to discern the point at which good turns to evil by excess. But in time, somehow people do get their eyes open; and to-day the people of Canada are pretty wide awake as a result of the shock which the recent revelations of the corruption in the United States produced. Even in that country there are uneasy stirrings.

There is something ludicrous in the way in which those arguments are slipping away which have been regarded as axioms for a century past. The last to go is the argument that we must protect ourselves against the pauper labour of Europe. Mr. Carnegie tells us that the cost for labour in the iron trade is less in the United States than it is in Germany. The wages paid to male employees in the Canadian woollen trade is \$6.50 per week and \$4.28 for women. The rate paid in England is \$5.79 and \$3.31 for women. A duty of 8.6 per cent. would offset the difference in the rate of wages, even if the cost of living in the two countries were the same, which it is not. In the cotton trade in Canada the wages of men are \$7.00 a week

and for women \$4.81. In England the rate is \$4.79 for men and \$3.31 for women.

Of course the people of England do not hear much of this side of the case,—that most sensible persons in Canada and in the United States have come to entertain a hatred of Protection, on the two main grounds that it makes for the corruption of public life and the increased cost of living. The reason is, according to Mr. Edward Porritt, that, “as regards the tariff, Canada is practically without a free press”; and, according to Mr. Sinclair, who speaks for the United States, “Unfortunately the public takes its opinions from the newspapers, and the newspapers are owned by men who profit by corruption.” As far back as 1891 Mr. Goldwin Smith declared that a “system of corruption has been extended to the press.” Farmers, labourers, mechanics, and professional men do not advertise, because they are consumers, inarticulate and incoherent.

In the United States the high tariff binders finally committed the woful blunder of antagonising the newspapers, and now we are hearing the truth. To attempt to hold up the publishers was an excess of stupidity. The Secretary of their Association appeared before the House

Committee on Ways and Means which is now sitting in Washington for purposes of tariff revision, and by names and dates proved that the American manufacturers of paper had increased the price by 12 dollars a ton under the present tariff, that the average of wages paid was less than in any other industry, that the market was starved, and that by threats one importation of 10,000 tons was forced out of the country. He made the statement, incredible as it may seem, that the Conference at which these arrangements were made was held in Montreal, and that the Canadian manufacturers of paper were a party to them. It is not sufficient palliation for the manufacturers to allege that they were actuated in making paper scarce and dear, by the humane desire to lessen the size and number of the newspapers for the public good.

In times gone by it was the custom before each election for politicians in the United States to promise a revision of the tariff, but when they applied themselves to the task they revised it in the wrong direction. Previous to the last election the same promise was made; and Mr. Taft's intention to "implement" that promise is creating unbounded astonishment. The

American Economist, the blindest and the greediest of the advocates of Protection, reveals its amazement in the words: "There is a marked difference between the vague opinion that some of the tariff schedules might properly be reduced, and a promise that the schedules shall be reduced."

They looked upon the promise as one of the usual campaign tricks, and now they cry out that they are betrayed when they see that the tariff is to have a frank and full debate. They asked for "practical witnesses"—not professors, economists, and consumers—and they got Mr. Carnegie, who may be assumed to know something about the matter; and he told them that steel could be produced cheaper in the United States than anywhere else in the world, and that the cost per ton for labour was less than it was in Germany. It is not sufficient answer to call Mr. Carnegie a "renegade." Mr. Taft's innocent inquiry before the Committee upon revision,—“Where are the consumers?” has found its reply in the words of Mr. J. J. Hill, who, as President of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, knows their mind better than any man in the United States: “If this Congress does not revise the tariff, then the next Congress

will. The people will attend to that part of the question."

The consensus of the large manufacturers in the United States is that they do not require Protection and are not benefited by it. That being the case, they will no longer pay money for a thing they do not want. With an ingratitude which is sharper than a serpent's tooth to the politicians, they affirm that they have no further desire that the taxing power of the Government shall remain in their hands; and—subtlest treachery of all—they have had a law enacted that contributions for campaign purposes shall be published. As a result, the Republican campaign fund at the last election was not much more than a million and a half dollars, whereas it was over five million dollars in 1904. Mr. Carnegie spoke for the iron-makers. Mr. Vogel, President of the National Association of Tanners, appeared before the Committee and declared that the duty on hides was of little advantage to the farmers or cattle raisers, but was of great advantage to the meat packers, as it enabled them to exercise control over an important and much-needed raw material. He presented resolutions of his organisation favouring a maximum and

minimum tariff, so that reciprocal agreements could be made with other countries in the matter of manufactured leather. Finally he declared that if hides were placed upon the free list the tanners would have no objection to a reduction upon the duty on leather. A member of the Committee put the matter plainly when he said: "I'll tell you how to get free hides. If you'll agree that leather boots, shoes, harness, and like products shall go on the free list, we can get together on free hides." "I concur in that scheme of relief," said another witness before the Committee. Protection is slipping away from the manufacturers of the United States because so many of them are not interested in maintaining it. They have dropped off gorged, or are now sufficiently well nourished to meet all comers.

A greater freedom of import into the United States within the next eighteen months may be accepted as a fact. Whether it will take the form of an absolute reduction in the tariff, or by a series of reciprocity agreements, with minimum and maximum schedules, no man can say. Reciprocity is a step toward freer trade, and Canada will undoubtedly be the first to be approached, because the truth of what Mr. Hill

says is so evident: "That the most natural, the most rational, the most highly profitable commercial status between Canada and the United States is absolute freedom of trade. That commerce must eventually move unrestrained between these two peoples is self-evident. Why not strike off the shackles now and let it move more freely, instead of paying the heavy penalty of delay?" This new spirit finds voice in that admirable periodical, *The Nation*, which urges that "Mr. Taft during his presidency could do nothing more useful than to join Canada and the United States by new far-reaching reciprocity treaties." All the old bitterness has passed away, and now we treat each other with that good-natured banter which is characteristic of these western communities. We do not take each other seriously.

It is useless for us to pretend that we have no interest whatever in proposals which may come from the United States to reduce the import duties on Canadian products. The Maritime Provinces especially are vitally interested. These provinces contain a population of nearly a million persons, and they are the most intelligent in Canada. They form a decaying community. They are intelligent enough to be aware that a

community must at times make sacrifices, but it is rarely the duty of a community to perish supinely. For political reasons a community must often endure economic disadvantages, but it is never called upon to endure them for ever. The injury to the part is an injury to the whole, and if the Maritime Provinces suffer the whole of Canada suffers. The city of St. John has decreased in population during the past 30 years by 614 persons. Charlottetown has increased by only 595 in 20 years. Halifax has increased by only 2398 in the last 10 years. Taking the provinces separately, the decrease of population in Prince Edward Island during the past 20 years is 5632 persons. The increase in New Brunswick has only been 9987 in the last 20 years, and in Nova Scotia the increase has been for the same period 19,002. This yields an increase of only 2·6 per cent. for the three provinces for the last 20 years. Now the normal rate of increase of population in a civilised community is 1·5 per cent. yearly. Accordingly the Maritime Provinces to-day should contain 1,111,870 persons instead of 893,953. There is a deficiency of 217,923, and the census of the United States shows that most of these persons have migrated across the line. These provinces have been unaffected by

the stream of immigration of which so much is heard. Of all the persons living in that locality, nearly 97 per cent. are native born. The ultimate cause of the stagnation and the loss of population in the Maritime Provinces is that the people are denied access to the natural markets for purposes either of purchase or for sale. I say natural markets, because these provinces lie adjacent to the sea-board of the United States. They are separated from the rest of Canada by mountain fastnesses and by the State of Maine, which projects to within 20 miles of the St. Lawrence river.

There is a saying attributed to a Scotch "natural" who was seated upon the rail of a bridge chewing at a mutton bone. He was saluted politely by the minister as he passed, and the foolish lad made the pointed comment, "Ye kens a body quick eneuch when he's got ae thing." The people of the United States have become very polite to Canada since they have made the discovery that we have something which they want. Forty years ago they refused to trade with us. They adopted the principle of retaliation, which is dear to certain minds. If ever there was a case in which retaliation was likely to do good, here was one—a large com-

munity side by side with a smaller one, two people speaking somewhat similar languages, descended from the same stock, living in the same environment, and separated by a boundary which was wholly artificial. From their point of view we had wrought them evil. Our neighbours had emerged from a war in which they were successful. They remembered that the sentiment of the ruling class in England had been against them, not on grounds of principle but for the somewhat indeterminate, though peculiarly exasperating reason that their enemies were gentlemen and they were not. They were quite well aware, too, that Montreal was a centre of conspiracy against them, and that ships had gone from that port to force their blockade.

Even in the early nineties, when the demand in Canada was strong for unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, this spirit of retaliation had not spent its force, and it blinded the statesmen of Washington to the possible political effect of such a measure. It was believed generally in Canada that this was the first stage in the progress towards political union, "the first bite of the cherry," as the saying was; and it gave rise to that famous address to the electors by that stalwart opponent of

annexation, the late Sir John Macdonald, which concluded with the somewhat superfluous declaration, now, I believe, inscribed upon his tomb: "A British subject I was born; a British subject I will die." Still later, when the party which had been clamouring for reciprocity came into power in Canada, a deputation was sent with some pomp to the United States to solicit this boon. Upon its return Sir Wilfrid Laurier announced rather sadly, as a result of a new accession of wisdom, that there would be no more pilgrimages to Washington. Whereupon we stiffened our backs and hardened our hearts. We adapted our products to the needs of each other. We built railways east and west. We built larger ships and undersold our neighbours in the markets of the world. We allowed them to exploit and exhaust their forests and lands, as we are to-day exploiting and exhausting our own; and finally, to show our spirit and goodwill, we declared for England and gave a preference to English goods in our markets.

For fifty years, from 1846 to 1896, Canada made a continuous effort to gain entrance into the markets of the United States. The movement began in the former year, when Great Britain abolished the Corn Laws, through which

the colonies lost a preferential duty for their products in the mother country. The Governor-General, Lord Elgin, went to Washington in the hope of obtaining a treaty, which he succeeded in doing by skilful diplomacy and unbounded hospitality in the year 1854. For twelve years the arrangement gave general satisfaction, but was abrogated by the United States in 1866. Then began the efforts for its renewal which were continued for thirty years. In 1865, when the Canadian Ministers were promoting Confederation in England, they urged the policy of renewing the treaty, and efforts were made through Mr. Adams, American Minister in London, and the British Minister at Washington, Sir F. Bruce, but the negotiations failed. The same year Messrs. Galt and Howland went to Washington and secured permission to send a delegation representing all the provinces, but they returned empty handed. The next negotiations were those of 1869, conducted by the British Minister at Washington, and John Rose the Canadian Minister of Finance; but it is difficult to know precisely what offer Canada made, as the negotiations were believed to be private, and the papers referring to the subject are now lost.

Again in 1871 reciprocity made its appearance, but the American Commissioners declined the proposal, on the ground that "the renewal of the treaty was not in their interests and would not be in accordance with the sentiments of their people." In 1873 the National Board of Trade of the United States memorialised Congress to appoint a Commission to frame a treaty, and the Canadian Government replied that the subject, if approved of by Congress, would receive their fullest consideration. In 1873 George Brown was appointed British plenipotentiary for the negotiation of a new treaty, and a draft was made of a treaty to remain in force for twenty-one years, but the United States Senate adjourned without even taking a vote upon it. Finally, in 1879 a higher tariff was enacted in Canada, but it retained the previous offer of reciprocity. The only result was that Congress passed a retaliatory law. In 1887 the opposition in the Canadian Parliament put on record their adhesion to the principle of an unrestricted reciprocity. In 1888, at the conference over the new fishery treaty between Secretary Bayard, Sir Julian Pauncefote, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Tupper, a settlement was offered "in consideration of

a mutual arrangement providing for greater freedom of commercial intercourse." The American plenipotentiary, however, declined to ask the President for authority to consider the proposal. The Canadian elections were fought out upon the question of unrestricted reciprocity, which had been adopted by the Liberals, and they were defeated, largely owing to the belief that such a measure would lead to political union with the United States. The Conservatives, however, upon their return to power renewed the attempt in 1892 with Secretary Blain, but the negotiations were broken off. Finally, upon the accession to power of the Liberals, Sir Wilfrid Laurier took the matter up afresh, but he returned with a final message to his own people: "There will be no more pilgrimages to Washington. We are turning our hopes to the old Motherland."

This desire for reciprocity with the United States arose from the perception of the simple geographical fact that the mountains of America, and consequently the valleys, run in a northerly direction. When hope was finally abandoned, Canada proceeded with the task of converting North and South into East and West by means of railways and canals which cost us 2000

million dollars. Pride in our achievement has caused a certain obstinacy of heart; but it is not for that, nor for any obscure political reason, that we must decline to enter into any exclusive reciprocal arrangements with the United States. It is because we have too much at stake to risk being dependent upon the good-will even of an amiable neighbour. No treaty of trade is sufficiently sacred to warrant a people in trusting their existence to its terms. The lesson of 1866 has been too well learned, and we do not propose to cast away the labour of fifty years, with the possibility of having to perform it over again when the United States shall choose to change its mind.

It is too late in the history of the world for one community of white men to attempt to determine the fiscal arrangements of another. Canada devised a policy of protection against the United States, which she thought, rightly or wrongly, was at the time in her own interest. Later she offered a preference to England, because that also was in her own interest. It served as an expression of gratitude; it gave to her people cheaper goods, and is an ingenious device for pulling the teeth of our own Protection without too much squealing. The pre-

ference was given to England because England is England, and it is a sign to the world of the feeling of Canada for the Empire. We propose to retain this privilege. That is a settled policy in Canadian affairs.

We are now so secure in our Imperial status that we have no fear of what trade can do. If we get cheaper goods from the United States or elsewhere, we shall have the more money to expend upon the development of a country which is not yet wholly explored, and eventually we shall, each one of us, be enabled to pay his "ten and six," as the meanest English labourer does, for the defence of his shores, if only England is patient a little longer, whilst we, bewildered, not knowing what to do, and wanting to do everything, are doing nothing except talking about spending our last dollar rather than actually spending the first.

The worst enemy of Canada is the man who declares that, if we are permitted to trade with the United States or with Germany, we shall become Americans or Germans. The worst enemy of the Empire is the "Imperialist" who declares that unless Englishmen tax themselves for our benefit, we shall perform some sudden stroke of treachery; and yet there is no use

disguising the value of the United States market to Canada or the value of our markets to them.

In spite of the recent world-wide depression, the tables of trade and navigation for the twelve months ending 31st March 1908, show that the year yielded the largest foreign trade in the history of Canada. The exports were \$280,006,606 and the imports \$370,786,525; of these exports agriculture yielded \$246,960,968. And yet, notwithstanding these mutual efforts to hamper the exchange of commodities between the two countries, the imports from the United States last year amounted to \$210,652,825 and the exports to \$113,516,600. England took \$134,488,056 and gave back \$94,959,471. These tables show, curiously enough, that taxes and preferences and sur-taxes, and spite enactments, are under ordinary circumstances but minor influences on trade movement. Canadians, for example, bought from the United States last year, according to the tables, almost twice as much as they exported to that country; and they exported to Great Britain 40 per cent. more than they imported from it. In spite of a Customs preference of one-third in favour of British goods, imports from the United States are greater than those from Great Britain, with

a tendency to grow even more rapidly. Exports to the United States have doubled within the last nine years, while in the same time the exports to Great Britain have only increased by about one-third.

Last year we imported from the United States goods to the value of 210 million dollars, which is more than England imported from Germany, in spite of the fact that near 20 million dollars were paid in duties upon those imports. Those who base their Imperialism upon trade would do well to reflect upon what would happen if the United States offered to Canada free entry of goods and a tax against the rest of the world, in return for free entry into Canada or even for a preference. The contest between Satan and the Archangel would be only a gentle bickering compared with the results which would follow.

Politically we have turned our backs upon the United States for ever, and we hear with some complacency the continual lamentations over the "Americanisation" of Canadian life. The thing is imaginary more than real, and would occur even if the United States did not exist. We are reproached even for the clothes which we wear, that they are much

the same as those which are seen in Boston and New York. If we wear the same kind of clothes, it is due to identity of conditions. In a hot summer we find the traditional coat and hat of the English provincial town as intolerable as the harness of a cart horse. Our boys cannot wear cloth caps, for the perfectly valid reason that the sun shines strong in the Canadian sky; and since they are not continually riding horses, they find no necessity for wearing leathern leggings. They cannot play cricket because the twilight is too short and the summer sun burns up the crease, to say nothing of the snow lying on the ground for so many months of the year.

A Gaelic-speaking highlander was heard to lament that the English language was making great progress in the world. And yet his compatriots in Canada must not be too severely blamed for speaking English as well as they can, or even French, seeing that 41 per cent. of Canadians find that language easier to their tongue than Gaelic or English. Nor must we be blamed for wearing American clothes and adopting American manners. We live in America; that is why we are becoming "Americanised." Young men from the United

States are coming amongst us in increasing numbers. We find them in our offices, factories, universities, churches, and clubs. They are crowding upon our western lands. They make our best citizens; and, to be quite frank, we like them because they are simple people like ourselves. Their children go to schools with our children. In short, they become Canadians, which is merely a step backward towards the race from which they are sprung.

During the past forty years the situation in the United States is changed. The mills of the twin cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, require our hard Manitoba wheat; the furniture makers of Michigan require our lumber; the purveyors of newspaper print require our pulp-wood; the manufacturers of New England require our coal for their engines and our food for their workmen. The people of the United States have suddenly discovered that the mountains, and consequently the valleys, of North America run north and south, apparently unaware of a line of posts which traverse the continent upon the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. The railways are following these valleys into the wheat-fields of Canada; but this line of posts is an in-

convenient barrier upon their right-of-way. Accordingly the railway interests are clamouring that they be removed.

When our neighbours display their tempting market, we say, like that shrewd Hebrew buyer, "It is nought; it is nought;" and straightway we boast ourselves that we can have access to it when we need it. If they persist that they want our products, we reply that they are for sale on the usual terms. What arrangements they shall make about admission into their country is for them to decide. If they admit them free of duty, it will be because that measure seems best in their own interests. If it should prove to be in our interests too, we shall not object.

Our answer is that we are doing business with England, and propose to continue. Our hearts and our treasure lie there. England is treating us handsomely. A respect and affection has grown up between us. She sends us the most charming of her nobility to grace Rideau Hall. She professes satisfaction over the hand we gave in South Africa, and makes us feel that we played the man. When we go to London she makes much of us; and now they say that they are going to tax themselves for our

benefit, and, owing to increasing preferences, they will send us their goods at a cheaper rate than we pay at present, and so reduce the cost of living in Canada. In short, the springs of loyalty to a noble tradition, of affection for kinsmen who yet occupy the old homes, of a wider patriotism, of a desire to be full partakers in the glory of a remembrance of old achievements, which during generations of absence had dwindled to a small trickle, have broken forth afresh. This is the sure source of Empire, the true Imperialism.

An Empire based upon preference is at the mercy of every country which chooses to offer a better rate. If a 5 per cent. preference will purchase a 5 per cent. loyalty towards England, how much loyalty will a 10 per cent. preference with the United States purchase? That is a sum in proportion. The intent of this writing is to show that an Imperialism which is based upon trade appeals only to traders. We in Canada are not traders. We are farmers; at least 62 per cent. of us live on or near the soil. Protection is not an eternal law of nature, and when it passes away an Imperialism which is based upon it will pass away too.

Imperialists would do well not to link their fortunes with a lost cause. Tariff Reform cannot be distinguished from Protection: broadening the basis of taxation is like "firing a gun, easy"; and hatred of protection will end in hatred of any Imperialism which is allied with it.

A ring-fence around the Empire, with free trade within and retaliation upon all without, means war, is war. It may well be imagined that Germany would not have been so complacent during those years had she not known that England was fighting in South Africa for equal opportunity to all. England herself was not very sweet-tempered with Belgium when a contrary principle was applied to the Congo. The one thing which in time of stress and friction has preserved England from European war was the knowledge that hostile communities on the Continent were quite well aware that they would immediately deprive themselves of the greatest free market in the world. Even talk about war they found was impairing their trade. The commerce between Germany and Great Britain amounts to 60 million pounds sterling a year. With that trade cut off, it is easy to imagine the dis-

location of business which would result, and the consequent ruin of the largest houses in Hamburg and Berlin. This large commercial class has lent its whole power to the preservation of the peace of the world.

Let us not deceive ourselves. The manufacturers of England are not altruists any more than our own. They are not consumed by love of country or of each other. As an illustration of how these manufacturers love one another, I shall cite the case of the Canadian woollen makers. Their solicitude for the people of Canada is piteous. They see them wearing shoddy instead of their own excellent wares made in Canada from raw wool. The Premier told them very pointedly that if the Canadian people wanted shoddy they were entitled to have it. They made the accusation that disease might be carried from the rags from which shoddy is made. They forgot that these rags are subject to a chemical process which completely disinfects them, and that they import rags from the same quarter as do the English manufacturers. These statements were characterised by the chairman of the West Riding Chambers of Commerce at Leeds as the outcome of ignorance or malice, and that the

apology which had been made was neither full or complete. In seconding a resolution upon the subject, Mr. J. E. Glover touched the matter on the quick when he said that the trouble with Canadian manufacturers was that they were without training, and their machinery was such as had been discarded forty years ago by the English manufacturers. That is one fruit of Protection.

Nor must we forget how this tariff reform in England is financed. We who have experience of our own "red parlour" can easily distinguish in the background the sinister figure of the manufacturer who has put his sovereigns in the slot, and expects to draw out from the contrivance a tariff in favour of the goods which he manufactures. We may also surmise that the transportation companies would seize upon the preference as an excuse for raising their rates against us.

A delightful point could be given to the whole question by reference to the controversy which arose after England abolished the Corn Laws in 1846, through which the colonies lost a preferential duty in the markets of the mother country. The Parliament of the Province of Canada passed an address protesting against

this policy, and declaring that "it is much to be feared that, should the inhabitants of Canada, from the withdrawal of all protection to their staple products, find that they cannot successfully compete with their neighbours of the United States in the only market open to them, they will naturally and of necessity begin to doubt whether remaining a portion of the British Empire will be of that paramount advantage which they have hitherto found it to be." To this the British authorities made the reply, which is as sensible to-day as it was sixty years ago, "that it would indeed be a source of the greatest pain to Her Majesty's Government if they could share in the impression that the connection between this country and Canada derived its vitality from no other source than from the exchange of commercial preferences." And yet the connection has endured and shows more vitality than when those preferences were in force.

Until Imperialism is divorced from Protection it will be a tainted thing. England rules because she rules justly. When England adopts Protection she will become corrupt. Then she will cease to rule. That is why so many Canadians who love the Old Land, and are

willing to die in defence of their old homes, will have nothing to do with an Imperialism allied with a Protection which in time will leave them without a country which is worth dying for. They take Mr. Chamberlain at his word when he said at Newcastle, 20th October 1903: "I think that without preferential tariffs we will not keep the Empire together"; and they say frankly that, if that is the only condition, the Empire might as well fall apart, and soon as well as later.

There is something more important than thinking imperially, and that is to think sensibly even about Imperialism. Imperialism is in reality a way of looking at things, a frame of mind, an affair of the spirit, a singleness of purpose in making of the material at our command something new and good, by a process of decentralisation and co-operation. It is born of affection, and until it free itself from the vindication of business cunning and brute force over moral ideas, it will not make a near appeal.

This exposition of the mind of Canada might well be brought to a close with the account of its working upon matters of business and politics, without laying the psychologist open

to the charge of fragmentariness of treatment. These subjects do not form the whole of life, but they are the only ones with which we are vitally concerned. Literature, art, and the other amenities of civilisation have little more than that appearance of movement which is the first evidence of life. In this respect we do not differ from the United States. It is characteristic of this continent; and Professor Leacock has made the acute observation that Canada is in America. The reason is not far to seek. If we do not make books and pictures, it is because that is not what we set out to do. We came here to live by bread alone, and we are not yet dissatisfied with the diet.

Twenty years ago there was an internal movement towards what was called, with some degree of ambiguity, a national literature, but happily it ended in a blind alley. A literature which is nothing more than national is no literature at all. It is not worthy of existence unless it form a part of the literature of the world which now is and has been. That was the burden of Mr. Kipling's message when last he visited us. We have come to perceive that literature cannot be encouraged by that easy device, the subsidy; that a writer may be recognisable as an in-

dividual, but impossible without a complete setting of other writers who are critics as well as appreciators; and that the literary organism cannot be created, but grows continuously from the parent stem. We have been ploughing the sand. Two hundred years adapting and imitating the poetry of France and Italy was the price which England paid for the Elizabethans, and the environment suitable for its productions has been continuous ever since. In that heritage we also will share when we have a clearer perception that, in reality, we never abandoned it by the mere act of crossing the sea.

X

BRITISH DIPLOMACY AND CANADA

It requires about thirty-three years to remove a false impression from the public mind, and about the same length of time to replace it by a correct one. This formula may be employed under ordinary circumstances, and will be found sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes in cases which are not complicated by self-interest, national jealousy, or theological hatred.

No one in Canada has any especial interest in entertaining or propagating the delusion that British diplomacy has been inept, or that the area of Canada was unnecessarily abridged by any negotiations which had been undertaken in the ordinary course of Imperial diplomacy. And yet, up to a few years ago, such opinion did prevail, and not alone in the minds of the most foolish or the most ignorant. The reason probably is that no one had any especial interest in disseminating the truth.

But comparatively recently there has been a

remarkable recrudescence of feeling for everything pertaining to the Empire, and a desire to be informed upon all the circumstances which led to its establishment. Scholars have undertaken investigations, but the results of their researches lie in Transactions of learned societies, which but slowly filter down through the magazines and newspapers into the common mind. Much labour and love has been bestowed upon the history of British diplomacy in its relation to Canada, and the record is now open to all who choose to read. The incurably stupid and the wilfully ignorant may be left to themselves. This writing is not for them. It is rather for those who are oppressed with public cares, who are entangled in the intricacies of practical politics, and have not that reasonable leisure which is necessary for forming opinions upon the results of inquiry made at first hand. It is an obligation upon those who are in possession of correct opinions to take upon themselves that labour which is necessary for the illumination of the public mind.

It is hard for statesmen who are brought up in the simple, Canadian conditions surrounding farm, factory, shop, and law-office to understand how complicated an affair the world

really is. They are in the mental situation of the housemaid from the country, who thinks of a water supply in terms of springs and wells, who associates milk with cattle, light with candles, and heat with glowing logs. Nurtured in peace, a peaceful life is the normal life to them: war the ultimate wickedness of which humanity left to itself is capable. Government comes to mean an association for purposes of trade, and public finance a multiplicity of perplexing regulations. They are entirely incapable of comprehending that the ultimate appeal of a nation is to the ordeal of battle, and that all negotiations are an attempt to arrive at a solution by an easier method.

Those alone are competent to conduct the operations which end in a compromise who have the fear of war before their eyes, who have dealt in blood, and have seen the tears of the widow. It is easy to call for battles which one is not compelled to fight, to be rash when one's life is not the forfeit, to engage in the high play of war when there is nothing at stake. All negotiations which have for their object the maintenance of peace must be regarded, not with the feeble light of the court-room, but in the lurid glare of war.

Diplomatists, whose chief concern is with tariffs, and preferences, and reciprocity, may fail to arrive at a conclusion, and things will be as they were. Possibly a farmer may be obliged to sell his wheat at a diminished price, or a manufacturer may continue to enjoy an unnatural profit. Failure may lose them an election; but the issues of life and death are not in their hands. The one is the business of a politician; the other is the business of an ambassador with plenary power.

The two sides are well illustrated by the incident which occurred between Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador to Washington, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister, who is in addition the leader of a party. Speaking at Ottawa, 2nd April 1907, the Canadian Premier said: "Mr. Bryce has been on this continent but a few weeks, and it is nothing but the literal truth to say that he has turned a new leaf in the history of the continent of America. We have to realise that John Bull has not always done his duty to his Canadian son. If we take all the treaties from the Treaty of 1783 up to the Treaty of 1903, we Canadians do not feel particularly cheerful over the way we have been treated by the British plenipotentiaries."

To these remarks Mr. Bryce made a very direct reference in his speech in Toronto on the following day: "I will ask you to suspend your judgment upon all those questions in which it is alleged that British diplomacy has not done its best for you. In those matters you have only heard one side of the case: and I feel it is my duty to my country and to the Government which I represent to tell you this; and that I believe you are entirely mistaken if you think that British diplomacy has been indifferent to Canada, or has not done the best it could for Canada."

The Premier returned to the subject again some months later, when he declared at a banquet of the Manufacturers' Association, 26th September: "We take the record of diplomacy of Great Britain in so far as Canada is concerned, and we find it is a repetition of sacrifices of Canadian interests. We have suffered on the Atlantic. We have suffered on the Pacific. We have suffered on the Lakes. We have suffered wherever there has been a question to be discussed between British diplomats. Well, then, we have come at last to the conclusion that upon this point also, in our relations with foreign countries, we would

do better by attending to the business ourselves rather than having it trusted to the best men that can be found in Great Britain."

It is a curious manifestation of the human mind, that what it desires earnestly it becomes convinced in time that it really does possess. Mr. Bagehot gives an amusing illustration of this irrational conviction from his own experience. He stood for a borough in the west of England and was defeated by seven votes. Almost immediately afterwards there was a second election at which he was not a candidate, and a member of his party won. For years he had the deepest conviction that he should be the member, and no amount of reasoning could get it out of his head. The feeling was ineradicable, and prevented him from taking interest in another constituency where his chances of election would have been at least rational.

With two main exceptions the Atlantic seaboard of Canada is ice-bound for six months in the year. A glance at the map shows how desirable it would be to possess the harbours of New York, Boston, and Portland. Such an ambition would indicate an excess of national aspiration, and by an act of self-abnegation

Canadians are content with the theoretical occupation of Portland. The imagination is probably stimulated by the fact that for many years the principal Canadian railway had its terminus in that harbour, but it might have fixed itself upon possessions of New York or New Orleans, had these been the only ports of entry available during the winter.

It would be a desirable thing, truly, that Canada should be bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. It might have been so had George III. not been an obstinate fool and Lord North a faithful servant; but it is also worth reminding ourselves that if it had not been for British diplomacy there might to-day be no Canada at all. These speculations are not for essayists alone; they should afford reflection for public men and restrain their utterance upon subjects about which it is not in their own interests or to the public good that they should remain ignorant. Politics have to do mainly with facts, and not with surmises about how things would be if something different had happened. It is a fact which Canadian statesmen would do well to make their point of departure, that something did happen at Yorktown on 19th October 1781. All British

diplomacy, in so far as it concerns Canada, has been governed by the inexorable logic of the surrender of Cornwallis. There is no escape from the relentlessness of events which have happened. Canadians cast their eyes upon the timbered slopes of the Columbia River as it winds its way through Oregon territory to the Pacific. This land is so desirable, so convenient, and they remember that at one time England asserted some kind of claim to its possessions, that they think it must have been wantonly cast away. They know nothing of the circumstances under which the rival claims were adjusted, or of the opposition to any compromise whatever. To them Stephen A. Douglas is nothing more than a name: and yet at one time he held the first place in public importance, far in advance of that occupied by Abraham Lincoln. His countrymen, with that peculiar lack of humour which has always characterised them, described him as "the little giant," and they must have attached some value to his words when he declared, 13th May 1846: "I am as ready and willing to fight for 54° 40' as for the Rio Del Norte."

These oracular words will bear some amplification. It is found in Douglas's speeches.

He was pledged to move a declaration of war if England tried to take Oregon. He declared, in his impassioned way, that he would administer Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity, and would not stop till he had blotted out the national lines on the map and made the area of liberty as broad as the boundaries of the continent itself. Translated into English, this means that rather than surrender Oregon, the United States would go to war with England for the possession of Canada. If British diplomacy did not secure Oregon it prevented a war and preserved Canada as it exists to-day.

This intensity of feeling is further illustrated by a speech delivered in the House of Representatives by a member from Indiana. The language is amusing, but the meaning of it is clear: "The march of your people is onward, and it is westward; that is their destiny. They are going onward to the Pacific; and if in the path which leads there the British lion shall lay him down, shall we on that account be craven to our duty and our destiny? No; never. The American eagle shall stick his claws into the nose of the lion, and make his blood spout like a whale. This, too, is inevitable destiny. The British may make

pretensions to Oregon, but rights they have none. Do we not want it? Yes, and we must have it. We want it to hold our people. Yes, sir, and I will tell you another thing. The American multiplication table is at work. Go into our western cabins and you will find a young man of six feet, and all the rest of him in proportion, with a companion not much less than himself, and round their feet you will find a little company of twenty children. Ay, sir, that is the American multiplication table. And now, do you take our present numbers, and reckon twenty for every two, and where do you think we shall find hunting ground for them? I tell you we must have Oregon. The multitude of the West is demanding it at our hands, and they must have it."

It was a moment of great expansion in the United States. The purchase of Mexican territory was under immediate discussion, and with it went the whole matter of what was then called their North-West, consisting of territories which were formed by ordinance of Congress in 1787, and comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota which lies to the

east of the Mississippi. When a nation is in the process of swarming, it is in no mood to be hampered or restrained. But the situation was much more dangerous, since it was inextricably bound up with the horrid institution of slavery.

When it was proposed to acquire the Mexican territory by purchase, the Wilmot Proviso was attached to an appropriation bill for that purpose, by which slavery should be prohibited in the new possession. Under the Missouri Compromise, which was an agreement embodied in a clause of the Act of Congress admitting Missouri as one of the United States, 2nd March 1821, it was enacted that, in all that part of the territories ceded by France under the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 lying above $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, slavery should be prohibited for ever. It was upon this concession by the pro-slavery party that Missouri was admitted as a slave state.

This compromise was abrogated by an Act of Congress passed in 1854, for the organisation of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which sanctioned the principle of "squatter sovereignty," or local option in the matter of slavery. This measure was the direct cause

of the disruption between the Whigs, which in turn led to the formation of the Republican party.

New territory was desired, not so much for its value as for the opportunity of creating new States in which slavery would be adopted as an institution, and the States in which it was prohibited would accordingly be put in a minority. The struggle came in Kansas. Three constitutions—the Topeka, the Lecompton, and the Wyandotte—were adopted within four years from 1855 to 1859, each one alternately forbidding and permitting slavery. Kansas was admitted as a free State, 29th January 1861. Civil war was inevitable, as the issue proved.

When the Bill for the organisation of the Territory of Oregon was passed, 13th August 1848, it excluded slavery, ostensibly in accordance with the “conditions, restrictions, and prohibitions” of the North-West Ordinance of 1787, but in reality by a recognition of the dangerous principle of “squatter sovereignty,” under which the people of the Territory had already forbidden slavery within its borders. If they could forbid it, they could also allow it, and it was in contravention of that doctrine that the North appealed to the sword.

All political problems are one problem; and

not even in China are they confined to the country in which they appear most perplexing. The various disputes over the boundary between the two countries had their origin in the movement of population in the United States. Northward pressure in Oregon really originated on the Atlantic sea-board and the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico; and it in turn was due to two main causes, the institution of slavery and that political unrest in Europe which manifested itself between 1830 and 1850 in revolution and *coups d'états*. In colonial times there was a large migration up the tributaries of the Atlantic and across the Alleghanies, accompanying or following such sectional struggles as Bacon's rebellion in Virginia in 1676, Shay's attempt a century later in western Massachusetts, Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island as late as 1842, and the dissatisfaction with the patroon system in Western New York. It was not till 1830 that the tide of foreign immigration reached the shores of the Atlantic. It quickly showed itself in the West, where in ten years the population of Indiana doubled. In Illinois it rose from 157,445 to 476,183, and in Ohio from something under a million to a million and a half.

But the growth of the South was even more remarkable in those years. The increase was due to the contrivance of Eli Whitney in 1793, by which cotton-seeds might be separated from the fibre. The use of the cotton-gin permitted the profitable production of the short fibred variety of cotton on the uplands of the Southern States. In 1811 Alabama produced no cotton; in 1834 the crop was larger than that of Georgia or South Carolina, and the population had doubled.

Slave holding and cotton growing went together, and as they advanced the free population was obliged either to buy slaves or move out into Tennessee, Kentucky, and the valley of the Ohio. This movement was joined by the great New England migration along the Erie Canal and the Lakes, as far west as Oregon and as far north as the Canadian boundary. This, then, is the genesis of the North and the South. How they clashed every one knows. Their temper was rising with their hunger for land, and that was the moment when Douglas declared he was ready for war with England, not for Oregon alone but for the whole continent. One might well surmise that if this war had occurred the people of the United States would

have had sufficient occupation to prevent them from fighting between themselves as they did twelve years later. But I have complicated the matter sufficiently without introducing political speculation.

But the Oregon over which the United States was breathing defiance was not the present little State which lies below $46^{\circ} 15'$ north latitude. It was that enormous territory which extends between the parallels of 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$. It included all that area between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, between Alaska on the north and California on the south, an area of 400,000 square miles, drained by such rivers as the Columbia, the Fraser, and the Skeena.

No one now contends that the title of Great Britain to this region was incontestable. Spain had a claim on the ground of priority of discovery, though discovery, unattended by permanent occupation and settlement, constitutes the lowest degree of title; and the only right which Great Britain secured from Spain was that which was conceded under the Nootka Convention of 1790, and confirmed by the Treaty of Madrid in 1814, that British subjects might settle and trade in the territory north of California. This arrangement was made in the

interests of fur-traders who formed the North-West Company, and its successor the Hudson's Bay Company; but such occupation is a precarious one upon which to found a title.

On the other hand, the United States was in possession of certain claims which had to be considered unless war was to be declared, quite apart from the right or the wrong of the case. They were successors in title to Spain, which by the Treaty of Florida in 1819 had ceded all her claims to territory north of 42°. They were successors to France under the Louisiana Purchase to any title which she might have possessed; and there is no doubt that Gray, the master of the United States trading vessel, was the first to sail upon the Columbia River, knowing it to be a river, and that Lewis and Clark were the first to explore the lower portion of the river and its branches.

The title of the United States was good enough to have warranted them in proceeding with the settlement of the territory, or rather to allow the migration of their own citizens, which had been going on, and say nothing about it. Douglas had the right of it when he recommended that the territories be organised and settled without attempt to define the boundaries;

but his "Americanism" got the better of him, and his talk of Hannibal's oath, eternal enmity, liberty, and the blotting out of national lines made England take notice. If the people of the United States had consulted the genius of the British Constitution they would have done nothing. But they clamoured for a treaty, and England was quite willing to allow them the privilege of exchanging the reality for the shadow.

Up to this time there had been a joint occupancy of the whole territory, and the master stroke of British diplomacy was in perceiving that the American settlers were advancing north and carrying their Provisional Government with them, that they would eventually invade by the peaceful method of settlement, if allowed to roam at will, what is now the province of British Columbia. Indeed, if gold had been discovered on the Fraser River before the Oregon Award, as it was discovered ten years later, there would have been an inrush of Americans into the disputed territory which would then be lost for ever to the British Crown. The fact of the matter is, that at the time of the Oregon Award all that portion of the western coast of America between California and Alaska was already lost

to Great Britain by the inexorable law of effective occupation. The population had risen to 7500, of whom not more than 400 were British subjects. The people were pro-American, and the virtual governor of all that territory between Alaska and California lying to the west of the Rockies, McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the perverted instinct of the trader, had joined their Provisional Government.

This unfortunate man, McLoughlin, merits a word. If it had not been for his action I think it possible that England would have refused further material concession to the United States, even at the risk of war. His adhesion to the Provisional Government was a fatal compromise; and yet in the outset his conduct towards the new-comers appears to have been actuated by mere motives of humanity. When the first American immigrants arrived in Oregon he sheltered and fed them during the winter, and the following spring supplied them with seed, so that they were enabled to make an effective occupation of the country. When he severed his connection with the Company he was compelled to pay for his unauthorised generosity. The settlers never repaid the amounts

which he had advanced to them in the extremity of their suffering, and he was reduced from affluence to poverty, though it is only fair to add that, after he was dead, partial restitution was made to his family.

The attitude of Great Britain was her habitual one in the making of treaties, dignified and firm. She admitted that the United States had certain rights, and she always stood ready to agree upon a boundary which was equitable and even generous. She was willing to concede ports in Puget Sound which would afford free access to the territory which she offered; but until overwhelmed by the immigration from the United States she had stood firmly by the Columbia River. Rather than lose all she yielded half. By methods of peace she secured what would hardly have been won at the cost of war.

But England had not been idle during that long period between the rebellion of the thirteen colonies and the Oregon Award. For no part of the Empire, save India, did the people of the little island work so hard as for Canada. In 1790, as the turmoil of European politics was beginning, England was concerning herself with the fag-end of the world on the Pacific

coast. That was the year in which the Nootka Convention was made, providing for the restoration of all property seized by the Spaniards at Nootka, and the payment of indemnity for wrongs done to those far-away subjects. It established the right of British subjects to make settlements on the Pacific coast of North America, for liberty to trade in all that territory which was afterwards in dispute. By this convention Spain was forced to abandon her claim by virtue of the discovery of America. It was a concession that, even admitting priority of discovery, this right could not be regarded as subsisting for ever to the exclusion of other nations. It was made under threat of war. The moment was well chosen to break that *pacte de famille* between the French and Spanish Bourbons, under which each guaranteed the territories of the other. In 1761 Spain joined France in war against England, but in 1790 France was in no situation to help her ally. England broke up the compact, and in doing so laid the foundations of the Canadian West. It is questionable if Mr. Aylesworth or Sir Louis Jetté, or even Lord Alverstone, would have been so far-seeing.

In 1794 England was at work again upon

the Jay Treaty, under which "the two parties will proceed by amicable negotiations to regulate the boundary line according to justice and mutual convenience." Again in 1803 the Hawkesbury-King Convention was arranged; but it was not confirmed by the United States Senate, on account of the recent dealings with France over the Louisiana Purchase. Three years afterwards England was at it once more, proposing a new boundary which the United States Commissioners accepted but never submitted to the Senate. In 1814 new negotiations were undertaken, which resulted in the Treaty of Ghent, but again the United States refused to ratify. In 1818 a Convention was agreed upon, under which the territory should be free and open for ten years to the subjects of both nations, without prejudice to the claims of either. In 1821 we find England protesting against the assertion of sovereignty by Russia, and four years later exacting from Russia a treaty by which that power renounced all claims to territories south of latitude $50^{\circ} 40'$. In 1826 negotiations with the United States were resumed, but all that could be effected was an extension of the joint occupation.

England did not flinch from her duty in

protecting her territory. In 1843 the Lynn Bill was introduced into the United States Senate providing for the erection of forts, for free grants of lands to settlers, and for the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States to the disputed territory. Lord Palmerston, who was then of the Opposition in the British House of Commons, affirmed that the passage of the Bill would be a declaration of war. The Bill passed the Senate, but no action was taken upon it by the House of Representatives. Finally, in 1844 and in March 1845, Great Britain proposed arbitration, but both offers were declined by the United States; and when Polk declared in his inaugural message for the whole of Oregon to $55^{\circ} 40'$, Great Britain began making extensive preparations for war. Cathcart, who had learned the business of war in Russia as aide-de-camp to his father in all the great battles against Napoleon in Germany, and to the Duke of Wellington at Quatre-Bras and Waterloo, was sent out to Canada as commander of the King's Dragoon Guards to put the country in a posture of defence. At that moment intimation was given by the United States that they "would not reject an offer to settle" upon the line of 49° .

In the following April a formal proposal of this line as a boundary was made by Great Britain and accepted. For sixty years England had wrought upon this problem, persistently offering peace, and yet holding herself ready for war, the only means by which peace can ever be secured.

It is a relief to turn from these complicated operations of diplomacy in the West to consider the simple stages by which the boundary between the United States and Canada was established in the East, under the terms of the Ashburton Treaty. At the outset a word in defence of Lord Ashburton is due. Few British servants have been more widely condemned; and yet his conduct must be viewed in the light of the ethics of diplomacy. No question which is so difficult that it must be submitted to arbitration has all the right upon one side and all the wrong upon the other. When the negotiations began, neither he nor his opponents were convinced where the line should fall. It was not a problem in mensuration or metaphysics, in which there is no middle standing-ground between what is true and what is false. It was a case of interpreting documents written a century before by honest but ignorant men.

A curious difficulty was introduced into the negotiations by the pedantic precision of a draughtsman. In 1621 James I. granted "Nova Scotia" to Sir William Alexander, the western boundary of which extended from the source of the St. Croix River "toward the north," to the nearest waters draining into the St. Lawrence. In the light of modern knowledge this line runs WNW., but in 1763 the clerk who drew the Commission to Montagu Wilmot, Governor of Nova Scotia, in defining the limit of the province, described it as following a "due north" line from the source of the St. Croix. The subsequent dispute turned upon the identity of the "north-west angle of Nova Scotia," which great Britain claimed was near to the source of the St. Croix; the United States claimed that this point lay about twenty miles from the St. Lawrence.

In a court of law the duty of the advocate is clear and the duty of the judge is clear. But the ethics of advocacy are quite distinct from the ethics of diplomacy. A diplomat is at once advocate and judge. He must contend only to meet contention and thereby establish an equity. Lord Ashburton acted upon the best information available. He joined

in a judgment upon the case as it appeared, and a judge must not be held to account because he is not informed of what a missing witness might have disclosed. According to that sound principle of law and morality, it must not be laid to the charge of Lord Ashburton that he secured for England and for Canada 900 square miles of territory more than she was entitled to. The United States accepted the award under a misapprehension which was not of his making. In further defence, it must be put forward that it would be crediting him with too great a degree of astuteness to allege that he was aware that the acquisition by England of this 900 miles of United States territory would enable the engineers of the National Transcontinental Railway to locate their line in that very territory and so avoid the mountainous region west of Lake Temiscouta. Indeed, it was not until forty years after the signing of the treaty that the idea of a Canadian transcontinental railway of any kind had formulated itself.

I am quite well aware that there are ignorant persons in Canada who profess to hold the belief—that is, if the word “belief” may be employed in connection with a matter which

one has neither the desire nor capacity to understand—that England did not receive an award of all the territory to which she was fairly entitled. The origin of this grotesque fancy is extremely simple. The Senate of the United States, which ultimately passes upon all treaties, was as recalcitrant to reason in those days as it is now, and could only be induced to ratify the treaty by being persuaded that they had received the best of the bargain. Daniel Webster, by the simple device of showing the Senators an old map with a line drawn upon it, easily convinced these statesmen, who had the minds and conceptions and characters of traders, that they were getting a good thing, and they voted for the treaty.

The astute Webster knew his own countrymen, and he took the easiest way. He also knew that the States of Maine and New Hampshire, whose territory was at stake, were bitterly opposed to the treaty, and that the failure of the negotiations meant the outbreak of hostilities. Indeed, hostilities had already broken out in the “Restook War” as it was called. Arrests were made by the authorities of New Brunswick and of Maine. The President was authorised to call out the militia, and ten

million dollars were voted for military defence. Unfortunately the Senators, who were not remarkable for enlargement of mind, could not refrain from telling how clever they had been, and some Canadians believed the accounts which they heard.

The most vulgar form in which the legend appears is that Ashburton accepted as a basis for negotiation a map which Webster had pulled out of his pocket, on which was shown the St. Croix River issuing into the Atlantic to the south of Portland. The foolish story goes that, when Ashburton accepted the St. Croix as a boundary, he thought he was getting all the sea-board and hinterland lying north of a point which would give Portland to Canada—an excellent bargain truly. Shorn of all mythical details, the facts are these:—After the Treaty of Paris the Count de Vergennes, he who promoted the alliance with the United States, requested Franklin to send him a certain map. Franklin sent the copy on which, as he stated in a covering letter, he had drawn in red the boundary line between the United States and Canada as agreed upon. In 1842 a map was found by Mr. Sparks in the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs

in Paris, containing a line which approximated to that contended for by Great Britain. It was one of many maps in the department, but there was nothing to indicate that it was the one which Franklin had sent to Vergennes. This was the famous "red line" map which Webster produced before the Senate as evidence that the United States were gaining territory to which, under the Treaty of Paris, they were not entitled.

But there was another map. On 27th March 1843 reference was made in the Queen's Speech to the settlement of the boundary dispute by the Ashburton Treaty. Within the next four days a map was exhibited in Parliament as proof that great Britain had not been imposed upon. It was referred to by Mr. Everett, then United States Minister to London, in a dispatch under date 31st March 1843. The essential part of this dispatch is contained in a speech by Senator Benton, from which I quote: "We all know that in one of the debates which took place in the British House of Commons on the Ashburton Treaty, and after that treaty was ratified and past recall, mention was made of a certain map called the King's Map, which had belonged to the late King George III., and hung

in his library during his lifetime, and afterwards in the Foreign Office, from which said office the said map silently disappeared about the time of the Ashburton Treaty, and which was not before our Senate at the time of the ratification of that treaty. Well, the member who mentioned it in Parliament said there was a strong red line upon it, about the tenth of an inch wide, running all along where the Americans said the true boundary was, with these words written along it in four places in King George's handwriting: 'This is Oswald's line'; meaning it is the line of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Oswald on the British side, and therefore called Oswald's line."

It is a curious fact that, although this map was referred to in at least two speeches made in the United States Senate, in the *Life of Shelburne* and in Moore's *Treaties and Arbitrations* there was no record of the place in which it might be found. In the summer of 1908 Mr. James White, chief geographer for Canada, discovered the map in the British Museum, and noticed at a glance that Mr. Everett was correct in his statement that the line marked, "As described by Mr. Oswald," was in accordance with the contention of the United States. Mr.

White had a copy of the map made, and published it in *The University Magazine*, December 1908. It shows conclusively that the boundary line, as agreed upon by the plenipotentiaries who concluded the Treaty of Paris, was essentially the one which was afterwards claimed by the United States preliminary to the Ashburton Treaty.

I am afraid there is evidence that British diplomacy has not always been the naïve, guileless thing its friends would have us believe. Certainly the moment chosen by this map for losing itself was peculiarly opportune. Referring to this question, Mr. Justin Winsor says: "If this map was not known to the British Government at the time of the mission of Lord Ashburton, there was a convenient ignorance enjoyed by the heads of the Administration which was not shared by the under officers, for it was well known, as Lord Brougham acknowledged, in Lord Melbourne's time, when it was removed from the British Museum to the Foreign Office." During the discussion in the House of Commons upon the motion for a formal vote of thanks to Lord Ashburton, the disappearance of this map was referred to, and one member intimated that he thought British honour would have been better consulted by showing this map to the

American negotiator. Lord Brougham, who moved the motion, thought it would be carrying frankness a little too far for the British negotiator to have set out with showing, "that he had no case, and that he had not a leg to stand upon."

The boundary between the United States and Canada was settled by the Treaty of Paris. There was in reality nothing to dispute about. The line extended "along the highlands which divided the waters which emptied themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which flowed into the Atlantic Ocean." It would appear that any man who knew his right hand from his left, and could follow a ridge without crossing any water flowing to the right or the left, would define the boundary in the very words of the treaty; but it would bring the United States frontier within twenty miles of the City of Quebec, and would cut off communication between it and the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It commanded the capital of British North America, and flanked the principal British province for near two hundred miles. This was the situation which Ashburton had to face. Lord Ashburton was well chosen. As Mr. Alexander Baring, the

head of the great banking house of Baring Brothers, he had a large business connection with the people and the Government of the United States. His wife was an American woman, and attached to him were Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Stepping, who were described as "gentlemen of mind, tact, and pleasing deportment." It was a special mission, and was looked upon as a mark of honour to the United States. Even Mr. Fox, the resident Minister at Washington, was not looked upon as sufficiently important to share in it.

Lord Ashburton received the formal thanks of Parliament for his labours, on the ground that he had accomplished every object that Great Britain desired, and left undone everything which she wished to remain as it was. The feeling in the United States at the time over the treaty is well expressed by Senator Thomas A. Benton of Missouri in his *Thirty Years' View*. The treaty, he protested, retired the whole line from the heights which flanked Lower Canada, and cut off as much of Maine as admitted of a pretty direct communication between Halifax and Quebec. It made a new boundary in the North-west, depriving the United States of the great line of transporta-

tion between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods. It bound the United States to pay for Rouse Point, and to keep up a squadron in conjunction with the British on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave trade. An extradition clause was also wanted by Great Britain, and she got it, broad enough to cover the recapture of her subjects whether innocent or guilty, and to secure political offenders whilst professing to take only common felons. These were the points, he declared, which Great Britain wished settled, and she got them all arranged according to her own wishes. Others which the United States wished settled were omitted and indefinitely adjourned.

We have heard much about British diplomacy ; let us now turn attention to our own, and inquire what luck we had upon that important occasion when the boundary of Alaska was defined under an award dated 20th October 1903. The draft of the Convention was submitted to the Canadian Government in January and was approved by it. The Convention was signed in Washington 24th January 1903. The ratifications were exchanged 3rd March 1903. All these dates are comparatively recent. Upon this tribunal we

had three jurors, and two of them were Canadians, able men, men of truth, hating covetousness, such as Jethro recommended to his famous son-in-law. And yet we were not satisfied with the award. Indeed one of the jurors, Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, referring to the results of the labour in which he had a share, describes it as a "travesty of justice," which is a sad confession of the ineptitude of a tribunal of whose constitution Canadians approved. I think, however, that Mr. Aylesworth is too deprecatory of our first essay in serious diplomacy, and that in reality we obtained all which we could reasonably have expected.

The matter in dispute was very simple. As reported to his Government by Mr. Dall of the Smithsonian Institute, there was a discrepancy between the maps and the text of the narrative; that if the maps were to govern the possession of the islands they ought to go to the United States, and that if the treaty was "tried by the text" they ought all to go to Great Britain. The United States arbitrators consequently treated the maps as of primary importance, and insisted that the award should not be based upon the narrative.

Up to this point we have been dealing with

diplomatic negotiations which were undertaken for defining boundaries, and in two cases for the avoidance of war. Let us now turn to the lighter matters of trade, and deal with the attempts at agreements for reciprocal relations with the United States. One attempt succeeded: all others ended in failure from the year 1865, when Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, and Galt went to London, and Galt and Howland went to Washington; until 1896, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier returned and announced that the attempt was hopeless, and that there would be no more pilgrimages to Washington. Nearly every public man in Canada for thirty years tried his hand at this branch of diplomacy—Rose, Hincks, Macdonald, Tupper, Cartwright, Thompson, Bowell, Foster, Laurier—and failed.

The single exception was the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which was negotiated by Lord Elgin. The year before the operation of this treaty the trade of Canada with the United States amounted to 20 million dollars; the first year the treaty was in force the volume of trade at once increased to 33 millions. In 1855 it was 42 millions; in 1857 it was 46 millions; in 1859, 48 millions; in 1863, 55 millions; in 1864, 67 millions; in 1865, 71 millions; and in

1866, the year the treaty was abrogated by the American Government, it had reached the high figure of 84 million dollars. As a result of this treaty Canada's trade with the United States had nearly quadrupled in twelve years.

There is nothing so amusing in the history of diplomacy as the account of the method by which Lord Elgin extracted this treaty from the United States. The facts are set forth by Lawrence Oliphant, who acted as Secretary to Lord Elgin during the negotiations. When Lord Elgin arrived in Washington he was informed by the President and the Secretary of State that it was quite hopeless to think that any such treaty as he proposed could be carried through in the face of the opposition on the part of the democrats, who held a majority in the Senate. A few days later the Secretary remarked to his chief, "I find that all my most intimate friends are Democratic Senators." Under his subtle touch the opposition disappeared, and in fourteen days the treaty was ratified.

One cannot refrain from dwelling upon the incident, to illustrate the truth that a diplomatist has a thing to do and must do it in the best way it can be done. Lord Elgin's skill lay in

discovering the method. At the end of a week "the serious business of the visit was not yet in train." The Secretary was engaged every morning making arrangements with ministers who were "'cute dodgy fellows, with a sinister motive in the background which it was sometimes difficult to discover." "It is necessary to the success of our mission," he wrote, "that we conciliate everybody, and to refuse their invitations would be considered insulting. Lord Elgin pretends to drink immensely, but I watched him, and I don't believe he drank a glass between two and twelve." After such a feat of deception in the face of the Senators of those days, perhaps we shall hear less of the simplicity of the Englishman. "Lord Elgin," his secretary continues, "is the most thorough diplomat possible,—never loses sight for a moment of his object, and while he is chaffing Yankees, and slapping them on the back, he is systematically pursuing that object." "At present," this faithful servant adds, "I am as satisfied that it is my duty to go to balls as to go to Sunday-school was."

One night they dined with rather a singular houseful of people: the master of the house was a senator, Methodist preacher and teetotaler;

consequently they had nothing to drink but iced water. This experience appears to have been rather exceptional, because the record of the gaieties shows that everybody drank champagne, and, in addition, "there was usually a bowl on the table in which you might have drowned a baby, a most delicious and insinuating concoction." The wife of the host was not present, but her place was taken by her daughter, who wore a reformed dress which used to be described forty years ago as a bloomer. The husband of this young lady is described as an "avowed and rampant infidel," so that altogether it must have been a curious assemblage.

Upon another occasion, after a grand dinner the senators were so enamoured by Elgin's faculty of brilliant repartee and racy anecdote that he was persuaded to accompany them to the house of a popular and influential politician. In the group was Senator Mason, afterwards of Mason and Slidell notoriety. It was midnight when they arrived and their host was in bed. When he was aroused he appeared at the door clad only in a very short nightshirt. "All right, boys," he said, "you go in and I'll go down and get the drink." Presently he returned with his arms filled with bottles of champagne, on the

top of which were two large lumps of ice. Whilst the bottles were being opened he proceeded to dress himself, and all prepared to spend a pleasant evening. In the course of the conversation a member of the party, in a fit of exuberant enthusiasm, addressed Lord Elgin: "As for our dear old host the Governor here, I tell you Lord *Elgine*, he is a perfect king in his own country. There ain't a man in Mussoorie dar say a word against him; if any of your darned English lords was to go down there and dar to he'd tell them." . . . Here followed an expression of those terms which the Governor might be expected to employ in the circumstances mentioned. "That's a lie," said the governor. "I can blaspheme, and profane, and rip, and snort with any man, but I never make use of a vulgar expression to a guest." Other senators joined in the apology, and assured Lord Elgin that if all English lords were like him, and would become naturalised Americans, they would "run the country." They thought it a thousand pities that he had not been born an American and so have been eligible for the Presidency. The festivities preliminary to the treaty were enlivened by a ball given by Sir Philip Crampton in honour of the Queen's

birthday. The following account of the affair is taken from a Washington newspaper:—

“As for the ladies present, our pen fairly falters in the attempt to do justice to their charms. Our artists and modistes had racked their brains and exhausted their magazines of dainty and costly fabrics, in order to convince the world in general, and the English people in particular, that the sovereign fair ones of Washington regarded their sister sovereign of England with feelings not only of ‘the most distinguished consideration’ but of downright love, admiration, and respect—love for the woman, admiration for the wife of the handsomest man in Europe, and respect for the mother of nine babies. More was accomplished last evening in the way of negotiation than has been accomplished from the days of Ashburton to the advent of Elgin. We regard the fishery question as settled, both parties having partaken freely of the bait so liberally provided by the noble host.

“Amid the soft footfalls of fairy feet—the glittering of jewels—the graceful sweep of five-hundred-dollar dresses—the sparkling of eyes which shot forth alternately flashes of lightning and love—there were two gentlemen who ap-

peared to be the 'observed of all observers.' One was the Earl of Elgin, and the other Sir Charles Gray. Lord Elgin is a short, stout gentleman, on the shady side of forty, and is decidedly John Bullish in walk, talk, appearance, and carriage. His face, although round and full, beams with intellect, good feeling, and good humour. His manners are open, frank, and winning. Sir Charles Gray is a much larger man than his noble countryman, being both taller and stouter. He is about sixty years of age, and his manners are particularly grave and dignified.

"The large and brilliant company broke up at a late hour, and departed for their respective homes—pleased with their courtly and courteous host; pleased with the monarchical form of government in the United States; pleased with each other, themselves, and the rest of mankind."

This was a fair beginning for negotiating a treaty, and Elgin informed President Pierce and Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, that all was ready. This Marcy is described as a comical old gentleman, whose popularity with his countrymen rested chiefly in the fact that he had charged the Government 50 cents "for

repairing his breeches," when he was upon a mission to inquire into certain transactions in which great financial irregularities had taken place. Mr. Oliphant gives a vivid account of the signing of the only Reciprocity Treaty which Canada has ever had with the United States:—

"It was in the dead of night, during the last five minutes of the 5th of June and the first five minutes of the 6th of the month aforesaid, that four individuals might have been observed seated in a spacious chamber lighted by six wax candles and an Argand lamp. Their faces were expressive of deep and earnest thought not unmixed with suspicion. Their feelings, however, to the cute observer, manifested themselves in different ways; but this was natural, as two were in the bloom of youth, one in the sear and yellow leaf, and one in the prime of middle age. This last it is whose measured tones alone break the silence of midnight, except when one or other of the younger auditors, who are both poring intently over voluminous MSS., interrupts him to interpolate an 'and' or erase a 'the.' They are, in fact, checking him as he reads; and the aged man listens, while he picks his teeth with a pair of scissors, or cleans out the wick of a candle with

their points, which he afterwards wipes on his grey hair. He may occasionally be observed to wink, either from conscious cuteness or unconscious drowsiness. Presently the clock strikes twelve, and there is a doubt whether the date should be to-day or yesterday. There is a moment of solemn silence, when the reader, having finished the document, lays it down, and takes a pen which had been previously impressively dipped in the ink by the most intelligent-looking of the young men, who appears to be his "secretary," and who keeps his eye warily fixed upon the other young man, who occupied the same relation to the aged listener with the scissors.

"There is something strangely mysterious and suggestive in the scratching of that midnight pen, for it may be scratching fortunes or ruin to toiling millions. Then the venerable statesman takes up the pen to append his signature. His hand does not shake though he is very old, and knows the abuse that is in store for him from members of Congress and an enlightened press. That hand, it is said, is not all unused to a revolver; and it does not now waver, though the word he traces may be an involver of a revolver again. He

is now Secretary of State ; before that he was a judge of the Supreme Court ; before that, a general in the army ; before that, governor of a State ; before that, Secretary of War ; before that, Minister to Mexico ; before that, a member of the House of Representatives ; before that, a politician ; before that a cabinetmaker. He ends as he began, with Cabinet work ; and he is not, at his time of life and with his varied experience, afraid either of the wrath of his countrymen or the wiles of an English lord. So he gives us his blessing and the treaty duly signed ; and I retire to dream of its contents, and to listen in my troubled sleep to the perpetually recurring refrain of the three impressive words with which the pregnant document concludes — ‘Unmanufactured tobacco ; rags.’ ”

There is nothing discreditable in all this to Lord Elgin or to the Americans either. They showed themselves to be humane, kindly men ; and any one who would deal with them, even in these days, must treat them with at least an appearance of respect, with genuine good humour, sweetness of temper, and kindness.

A British subject cannot approach the Treaty

of Paris with much glee. This treaty, which was signed 3rd September 1783, by Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Franklin, Adams, and Jay on the part of the United States, is what Mr. White describes as the "date line" in the territorial history of Canada. The chief negotiator on behalf of Great Britain was Richard Oswald, who is described by Franklin as "a pacifical man," and again as "a plain and sincere old man, who seems now to have no desire but that of being useful in doing good." Fitzmaurice, the biographer of Shelburne—who, as Secretary of State for Home Affairs, had charge of the negotiations—refers to Oswald as a man "whose simplicity of mind and straightforwardness of character struck all who knew him." It is an easy guess what luck this simple-minded merchant, with these specifically Scotch characteristics, would have in such company as Franklin, Adams, and Jay, who were practising a method of diplomacy hitherto unknown amongst civilised men.

The experienced M. de Vergennes instructed the French Minister at Philadelphia to inform the American Secretary of State that the Commissioners had deceived him and had been

guilty of a gross breach of faith. Mr. Henry Strachey, who was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was not so amiable as the Frenchman. Adams admitted that he "presses every point as far as it can possibly go. He is a most eager, earnest, and pointed spirit"; and Oswald wrote to Townshend: "He enforced our pretensions by every argument that reason, justice, and humanity could suggest." American historians are not so complacent over Mr. Strachey as they are over Oswald, and he is described as "an exponent of English arrogance, insolence, and general offensiveness." But Mr. Strachey wrote in return: "These Americans are the greatest quibblers I ever knew." There is some evidence that even in our own day this proclivity has not entirely ceased. The late Sir John Macdonald, who himself was not precisely a simpleton, writing confidentially to a colleague in 1871 respecting the protocols on the Treaty of Washington, said: "The language put into the mouths of the British Commissioners is strictly correct; but I cannot say as much for that of our American colleagues. They have inserted statements as having been made by them, which in fact were never made, in order that they may have an

effect on the Senate. My English colleagues were a good deal surprised at the proposition; but as the statements did not prejudice England, we left them at liberty."

It is some extenuation of the conduct of Mr. Oswald to say that his information about Canada was not in excess of that which was possessed by the men of his time. It was the common belief that the "back lands of Canada was a country worth nothing and of no importance." The character in "Candide" who described Canada as nothing more than "quelques arpents de neige," was giving expression to the geographical knowledge current in the time of Voltaire; and Professor Lafleur reminds me that Burke gave utterance to the opinion that its value was only that of a few hundred wild-cat skins. Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, another negotiator for Great Britain, has left it on record that "many of the best men in England were for giving up Canada and Nova Scotia."

Mr. Oswald could not know how desperate was the financial and military outlook in the United States, that the treasury was empty and the army importuning for their pay, that Washington had reported that it was impossible

to recruit his force by voluntary enlistment, and that the abolition of paper money, the length of the war, the arrears of debt, and the slender thread by which public credit hung, made it totally out of their power to make any further great exertions.

It must also be remembered that the American Commissioners were of the opinion that "England should make a voluntary offer of Canada." They asserted that "by the Treaty of Paris of 1763, Canada was expressly and irrevocably ceded by France to the King of Great Britain, and that the United States are in consequence of the revolution in their Government entitled to the benefits of that cession." They claimed that England should offer reparation for the towns and villages which had been burned by her troops and her Indian allies, amounting to half a million pounds sterling. In addition, they demanded free trade in England and Ireland, and full freedom of fishing in British waters.

I am never done saying that decisions must be estimated in view of all the circumstances under which they were arrived at, though it is no great feat in criticism to protest that, even

without the intention of being malicious or unjust, it is possible for writers on political metaphysics to nourish illusions if they are ignorant of the evidence, and that they are entitled to maintain silence about the Treaty of Paris until they appreciate the condition which English statesmen faced in the midsummer of 1782.

England had been fighting France, Spain, and Holland in Europe, and the colonists in America. In Europe she faced the armed neutrality of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and the Empire; practically the whole civilised world. In November 1781, Lord Shelburne stated that the last loan for £21,000,000 had only realised £12,000,000, that £80,000,000 had already been added to the national debt, which would amount to £100,000,000 before the next campaign was over, and that, in Europe, England had not a single ally. During the next few months fresh disasters came. The fleet of brave Kempenfeldt was too feeble to face the French squadron. St. Eustatia, Demerara, Essequibo, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, and Minorca were lost; Gibraltar had been beleaguered since 1779; in America, with the exception of New York and Charlestown,

practically the whole mainland occupied by the thirteen colonies was lost ; and above all, peace was demanded by the mercantile community. The continued refusal by England of any mediation in which the revolted colonies should be included had finally alienated her from all the Continental powers.

Shelburne was the last man in the world to yield to anything short of ultimate necessity. Although in 1766 he attacked the policy of the Stamp Act, and assisted in passing its repeal, and in 1768 opposed coercive measures against the colonists, in 1778, in the debate on Lord North's conciliatory bills, he declared that "he would never consent that America should be independent," and nine months later he solemnly declared that "he never would serve with any man, be his abilities what they might, who would either maintain it was right, or consent, to acknowledge the independency of America." In 1781, in Parliament, he pointed out the impossibility of continuing the struggle with America ; three months later he asserted again that "he never would consent, under any possible given circumstances, to acknowledge the independency of America"; and in July 1782, he declared that he had never altered his opinion

with regard to the independence of America, and "to nothing short of necessity would he give way on that head."

There is no evidence of a lack of resolution in this. In his extremity the genius of England came to his aid as he wrote to Oswald, 27th July: "You very well know that I have never made a secret of the deep concern I feel in the separation of countries united by blood, by principles, habits, and every tie short of territorial proximity. But you very well know that I have long since given it up, decidedly though reluctantly, and the same motives which made me perhaps the last to give up all hope of re-union, make me most anxious, if it is given up, that it shall be done decidedly, so as to avoid all future risk of enmity, and lay the foundation of a new connection better adapted to the present temper and interests of both countries."

The bitterest opponents of the Americans in this treaty-making were their friends, the French. Vergennes, whilst willing that the colonies should be independent, desired to hem them in between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, nor did he intend that they should be granted fishing rights on the banks of New-

foundland. He intimated that France would expect very considerable concessions, and his Spanish accomplices proposed to claim that the possession by Spain of West Florida included the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi extending to the Great Lakes. The defeat by Rodney of De Grasse's fleet put an end to these pretensions, and England, freed from domestic difficulties by the preliminary treaty of 30th November 1782, which was intended "to lay the foundation of future good will, and to leave as few causes of future difference as possible between the two nations," beat the Spaniards off from Gibraltar, and in less than two months arranged articles of peace with France and with Spain, and with Holland a truce which passed into an amity which has endured to this day.

Possibly the reader does not require all this information. I feel the need of giving it; and I have stated the facts in all their simplicity to induce a new way of thinking, to dispel that ignorance in which the eternal wisdom has chosen to allow us to remain too long, and which yet infests even laborious writers endowed with some gift of expression, who are serious whilst they are absurd, and trusting to human

credulity instil into their writings a spirit which is three-fourths false.

From a survey of British diplomacy one is inclined to refrain from contradicting those who affirm that all things are divinely ordered to a far-off end. In the patience of England in her dealings with her own there appears to be a spirit which is something more than mundane. If any one would understand what I mean he must read the "Congressional Globe," wherein are recorded the transactions of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States. No task could be more desolating to the intelligence, although it is lessened by such splendid patriotism and humanity as is displayed, for example, by one of the honoured name of Winthrop in the debate upon the Oregon question, who opposed Mr. Simms of Missouri, when he declared: "Oregon, all or none; now or never. I am for the whole, and in defence of it I will see every river, from its source to the ocean, reddened with blood." The British diplomatists must have read the speech of Mr. Rhett of South Carolina, as we may read it to-day, in which he puts forward the results which would follow, "when we subdue England, and plant our banner on the palace of

St. James"; or the speech of Mr. Giddings, in which he declared that war "would inevitably place in our possession the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick." It must have been hard to be patient in face of that. Who could have foretold what the issue and event of the thing should be?—England tacitly agreeing that the two navies are one navy for the purpose of maintaining the supremacy of the race, and consequently the order and liberty of the world.

With beings who are human, and therefore neither infallible nor omniscient, there must at times be a choice of duties. When a man would gird up his loins for the saving of his life, he must not be chided too bitterly for his extravagance in casting away all hampering garments. Nor will an Admiralty Court censure too severely the seaman who jettisons his deck-load to lighten his ship in the face of an impending storm. The trader who protests, after the storm has been weathered, that his goods were damaged will receive scant consideration; and even if the negotiators of the Treaty of Paris appear to the ignorant to deserve the scorn which has been heaped upon them, we must remember that England was

freeing her hands for that great struggle which was to decide whether she was to establish her supremacy as a sea-power, or whether she was to take her place by the side of Holland and spend her last days in reflecting upon her departed glory.

THE END

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